

Hung Up on Hair *David Sanford*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

April 27, 1968, 40 cents

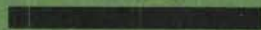
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

APR 23 1968

RY

TFX Trouble

Stanley Jarolem and Daniel Kahn



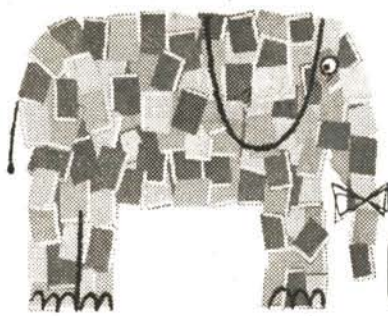
The Repossessed — *Gilbert B. Friedman*

Nat Turner Revisited — *Richard Gilman*

Black Chutzpah — *John Osborne*

Italian Student Power — *Daniel Zolo*

Steam Cars — *Ralph Nader*



GRAB A TRUNK-FULL OF BARGAINS

MARBORO Mammoth Clearance SALE

BOOKS · PRINTS SAVE UP TO 80%

ORIG. \$12.00 NOW
AS LOW AS \$1.98

ORIG. \$17.50
NOW AS LOW AS
\$5.95

ORIG. \$5.95
SLASHED TO AS
LITTLE AS \$1.00

4497. **Pierre Teilhard de Chardin: BUILDING THE EARTH.** Contains the very essence of Teilhard's political, religious, and moral convictions. "A great man of science and a great soul. His work gives our generation the comprehensive view it sorely needs."—Arnold Toynbee. Pub. at \$3.50. **Special 1.49**

P-737. **Picasso: DON QUIXOTE.**

On Genuine Artists' Canvas — Picasso's tribute to the Man of La Mancha; a superb silkscreen after Picasso in black on white canvas. 20" wide x 24" high. **Special 2.98**



4479. **NAPOLEON'S BATTLES: A History of His Campaigns.** By H. Lachouque. Masterful, exhaustive recreation of Napoleon's military personality and performance, authoritatively documenting all the details of each of his battles from Rivoli to Waterloo, fully revealing of his military genius. 479 pp; 61 illus. Pub. at \$11.50. **Special 4.98**

4477. **Gavin Maxwell: LORDS OF THE ATLAS.** By the author of *Ring of Bright Water*. Epic story of Madani and T'hani El Glaoui who ruled Morocco in barbaric, fabulous splendor, until their spectacular downfall in 1956—a fascinating panorama of incredible characters & fantastic intrigues. 100 illus. Pub. at \$6.95. **Special 1.98**

4317. **FODOR GUIDE TO EUROPE 1967.** Complete travel coverage of 34 countries from Portugal to the Soviet Union, Iceland to Cyprus—by plane, ship, train, car & bus: all the tips and hints you need for an excitingly successful, fun-filled vacation. Over 900 pp; photos & maps. Pub. at \$6.95. **Very Special 1.98**

4190. **GUIDE TO THE ART TREASURES OF FRANCE.** By Pierre & Laurent Tisne et al. Sumptuous presentation of 3000 essential examples of architecture, sculpture, painting, and the minor arts which form the artistic richness of France—2,500 PHOTOS, 28 FULL COLOR PLATES, ALL ON COATED STOCK—arranged geographically, with extensive indices. 555 pp. Pub. at \$10.95. **Very Special 5.95**

4172. **MEXICAN ART—From the White God to Orozco.** By J. Fernandez. 20 centuries of Mexican art from pre-Aztec sculpture through the Conquest to the present—59 FULL COLOR REPRODUCTIONS—paintings, sculpture, jewelry, pottery, architecture, jade and gold work, modern murals, more. 66 illus; English text; 9 3/4" x 10 3/4". **Special import 1.98**

4158. **ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSES—CAROLINE, 1625-1685.** By O. Hill & J. Cornforth. 23 country houses of the Caroline-James II period, considered the *beau ideal* of the genre, designed by such architects as Inigo Jones and Wren, plus notes on 42 additional principal houses. 422 photos & drawings on coated stock; 9 1/2" x 12 3/4". Pub. at \$25.00. **Special import 9.95**

4159. **ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSES—EARLY GEORGIAN, 1715-1760.** By C. Hussey. 35 English country houses in the Georgian Baroque, Palladian and Rococo styles fully described; designed by such architects as Roger Morris and Isaac Ware. 475 photos & drawings on coated stock; 9 1/2" x 12 3/4". Pub. at \$18.95. **Special import 9.95**

4161. **ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSES—LATE GEORGIAN, 1800-1840.** By C. Hussey. 22 country houses of the Late Georgian and Regency periods fully described; designed by such eminent architects as Soane, Nash, and the Wyatts. 475 photos & drawings on coated stock; 9 1/2" x 12 3/4". Pub. at \$18.95. **Special import 9.95**

4160. **ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSES—MID-GEORGIAN, 1760-1800.** By C. Hussey. 29 outstanding country houses, each still in use today, fully described; designed by such eminent architects as Adam, Soane and the Wyatts. 510 photos & drawings on coated stock; 9 1/2" x 12 3/4". Pub. at \$18.95. **Special import 9.95**

3338. **Andre Maurois: PROMETHEUS—The Life of Balzac.** Distinguished biography of the prolific, 'promethean' Balzac, the reckless gambler, the great lover, the social historian, and the genius-author of *Le Pere Goriot*, *Eugenie Grandet*, and the vast *Comedie Humaine*. 573 pp; 37 illus. Orig. \$10.00. **Very Special 2.98**

R1902. **Orig. Broadcast: Orson Welles' WAR OF THE WORLDS.** Original recording of the famous Orson Welles' 1938 Halloween prank about invasion from Mars—a broadcast that caused mass hysteria and panic throughout New York and New Jersey. *Mono.* Orig. \$4.79. **Special 2.98**

7717. **Bulfinch: MYTHOLOGY.** The complete *Age of Fable, Age of Chivalry and Legends of Charlemagne* in one volume—all the traditional tales of adventure, romance and chivalry from the Trojan War to Robin Hood, from classical through medieval times. 679 pp., index. **Special import 1.98**

4565. **FAINT THE TRUMPET SOUNDS: The Life & Trial of Major Reno.** By John Upton Terrell & Col. G. Walton. The full story of Major Marcus Reno and his controversial role in the Little Big Horn battle and Custer Massacre, with an account of his unjustified vilification, courts-martial, and death in an unmarked grave. 16 illus. Pub. at \$6.95. **Special 1.98**

4554. **Somerset Maugham's ASHENDEN or: THE BRITISH SECRET AGENT.** Maugham's marvelously entertaining Ashenden adventures, the most expert espionage stories ever written; based on the author's own WW I experiences & accepted publicly by Goebbels as the British Secret Services own handbook. Pub. at \$4.95. **Very Special 1.49**

4553. **EXPERIENCE OF WAR: The US in WW II.** By K. S. Davis. Vast panorama of the US at war, covering both Europe and the Pacific: the battles, top-level planning, the fighting men, the home front, the bomb; "excellent and superbly readable," *NY Times*; "fascinating and absorbing," *Saturday Review*. 704 pp. Pub. at \$7.95. **Special 2.98**

4552. **Lucius Beebe: THE BIG SPENDERS.** Deliciously told epic of America's rich rich, the grandes and magnificoes—and how they spent their fortunes in splendid entertainment, ostentatious real estate, platoons of liveried flunkies, and oceangoing yacht love nests. 33 period illus. Pub. at \$6.95. **Special 2.98**

3814. **JADE: A Collector's Guide.** By G. Wills. Ming jade, 18th century jade, Indian jade, New Zealand jade, the different appearances of jadeite and nephrite, how jade is worked, a section on the price of jade, and much more by an eminent English jade connoisseur. Plates & line drawings. Orig. \$5.00. **New complete edition 2.98**

2652. **WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE—THE COMPLETE WORKS.** All that Shakespeare ever wrote—a fine, complete edition (3 1/4 inches thick!) following the arrangement of the First Folio of 1623, with "Pericles," the poems and sonnets appended. 1,100 DOUBLE-COLUMN PAGES, with ribbon bookmark. **Special import 1.98**

1976. **THE LOUVRE—ONE HUNDRED BEST PAINTINGS.** From the richest art collection in the entire world—100 BEST PAINTINGS IN FULL, MAGNIFICENT COLOR—works by Botticelli, Raphael, Titian, Rubens, Hals, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, El Greco, Durer, Watteau, Ingres, Corot, Manet, Degas, Renoir, Gauguin, Cezanne, Van Gogh, many more, all equally famous. 100 full-color plates; 9 3/4" x 12 1/2". Orig. \$10.00. **Only 6.95**

4358. **THE MISTRESSES: Domestic Scandals of 19th-Century Monarchs.** By Betty Kelen. Delightful, witty, and often moving chronicle of a score of not-quite-regal ladies who moved through the private (and sometimes all too public) lives of Europe's crowned heads: Lola Montez, Kathi Schrav, Countess Castiglione, Julie de Krudener, and others throughout la belle époque. 17 illus. Pub. at \$5.95. **Special 1.98**

4545. **THE DEATH PENALTY IN AMERICA.** Ed. by H. A. Bedau. Collects the arguments of the nation's top criminologists and sociologists, pro and con, to give a fully rounded discussion of the necessity, usefulness, and legality of the death penalty in the US today. Notes, bibliography; 584 pp. Pub. at \$7.95. **New Only 2.98**

4349. **THE DISAPPEARING SEXES: Sexual Behavior in the US & the Emergence of Uni-Sex.** By R. P. Odenwald, MD. A doctor and psychiatrist illustrates through case histories the evolution of the female emancipation, the turbulence of the sexual revolution, and the inevitability of the next step in the process. Pub. at \$4.95. **Special 1.00**

4163. **Country Life PICTURE BOOK OF THE LAKE DISTRICT IN COLOR.** Handsome pictorial tour of the most scenically beautiful area in England—45 FULL-PAGE COLOR PLATES—with text recalling the area's associations with Ruskin, Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge, Tennyson, Southey, and many others. 9 1/4" x 11 1/4". **Special import 1.98**

3643. **NEW DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN HISTORY.** Ed. by M. Martin & L. Gelber; rev. ed. by A. W. Littlefield. Names, places, events, catch-phrases; political, military and geographical coverage; plus aspects of science, invention, commerce and industry—thousands of entries. 695 double-column pages plus complete text of the Constitution. Orig. \$12.00. **Special 1.98**

2583. **TREASURY OF PHILOSOPHY.** By D. D. Runes. Over 1,300 pages covering the whole span of recorded philosophical thought and writing. Each selection begins with a biographical sketch of the philosopher. Nearly 400 great thinkers, both Oriental and Western, many not accessible in any other collection. Orig. \$10.00. **Only 2.98**

2254. **FANNY HILL: John Cleland's Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure.** Intro. by Peter Quennell. Widely acclaimed as the classic English erotic novel as well as a distinctive literary portrait of its times; unexpurgated. Orig. \$6.00. **Only 1.98**

1353. **A Pictorial Treasury—THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM.** A magnificent edition of one of the great treasures of world literature, exquisitely illustrated in full color by the noted Persian artist Sarkis Katchadourian. Printed on genuine rag paper. Beautifully bound, 7" x 10". **Special 1.98**

T.R.B.

from
Washington

It's Time

★ Democratic presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy in a speech at South Bend, Indiana, April 4, formally adopted the proposition that the federal government should, where necessary, become "the employer of last resort." This means, in specific terms, that if a Negro can't get a job (and 73 percent of adult Negro men in Bolivar County, Miss., are now unemployed in full or part) the government will find work for him. This is a proposal long backed by reformers and Mr. Kennedy has embraced it.

Democratic presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy in a speech in Boston, April 11, declared that the federal government should guarantee to all Americans "a minimum income." This is a proposal long advocated by sociologists as a twin to providing jobs. Mr. McCarthy now formally and unequivocally backs it.

We believe that federal job maintenance and federal income maintenance are ideas that have reached their time and are on their way. We are encouraged that two leading candidates have endorsed them and we do not see how other aspirants for the Presidency can duck them. They are going to cost a great deal of money; they are going to come.

The idea of income maintenance is breaking out in odd places. We thought that Senior Editor George Harris's piece in *Look* (April 30) on the negative income tax was going to denounce the proposal; it turns out "the case for NIT is compelling." Republican conservative Rep. Melvin Laird, of all people, is drafting a bill on the subject. Hardly a presidential

commission any more fails to give it sympathetic discussion.

As we have pointed out (perhaps tiresomely) in this correspondence, the US is the only industrial nation in the world that doesn't now have a family allowance: they have it in Canada and love it.

Open-housing legislation for Negroes is all right for Negro self-respect and pride, but what good is assuring a Harlem washerwoman the right to buy a home in Englewood if she hasn't the money to pay rent where she is? The ghetto needs pride, of course, but it also needs cash and jobs.

Federal maintenance of jobs and income will cost a lot of money. The alternative is costlier. "History is not going to deal kindly with a rich nation that will not tax itself to cure its miseries," said John W. Gardner while he was Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The cost, however, may not be quite so high as it may seem at first.

For one thing, we are already paying an enormous sum for one of the least efficient income maintenance (relief) systems on earth. The nation's welfare system is "bankrupt," New York Welfare Commissioner Mitchell Ginsburg said last year. Economist Walter Heller says America's present chaotic public income maintenance system (farm subsidies, welfare subsidies and what-all) "now pays out \$35 billions in benefits per year" aimed more at sustaining the middle class than the poor. It is an outrageous discrimination, really; as Heller says, "about half of our 30 to 35 million poor have neither assistance nor social insurance programs" (March 25, 1965).

The Cost

★ How much would the price tag be? A limited family allowance plan like Canada's, adapted to US conditions, would cost around \$9 billions a year, according to Daniel Moynihan. The more extensive job and income maintenance plans advocated by candidates Kennedy and McCarthy would cost anywhere from \$10 to \$30 billions.

In the Godkin lectures at Harvard last month, McGeorge Bundy, head of the Ford Foundation, said the government must intervene massively. His

estimate: \$20 to \$30 billions a year.

The transformation of the present American welfare anarchy would save some duplication. Take AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children). If there is a "man in the house," even penniless, the rule has been that the mother doesn't get aid, and the children go hungry. There is bureaucracy, miles of files, and degrading snooping: the welfare worker will look under the bed for men's clothes.

A negative income tax (backed, of all people, by conservative economist Milton Friedman, adviser to Barry Goldwater) would send out graduated federal checks to those that need them under an extended income tax system. No snooping, no means test, little administrative cost.

Can America afford the cost of ending poverty? No nation on earth can afford it better. The gross national product rises at an almost obscene rate every year, and the money goes to candy and liquor and chewing gum and pets and jewels and cars. More of that money has got to be diverted to the public sector. The cost of Vietnam is more than \$2 billions a month. We need peace, and the money, at home.

The President's Commission on Civil Disorders, March 3, put it simply and clearly. It said the correlation between a high crime rate and low income rate in the ghettos is "startling." Yes, it acknowledged, "a broad system of [income] supplementation" would be costly.

"Yet if the deepening cycle of poverty and dependence on welfare can be broken, if the children of the poor can be given the opportunity to scale the wall that now separates them from the rest of society, the return on the investment will be great indeed."

Messrs. McCarthy and Kennedy have spoken; how about you, Hubert? — and Nixon and Reagan, and all the rest?

★ Notes: A well-informed Republican senator wagers the tickets will be Nixon and Percy; Humphrey and Kennedy. . . . McCarthy got a big cheer at Berkeley advocating the downgrading of three federal agencies, the CIA, the FBI, and the draft boards under Gen. Hershey. . . . Kennedy says he would not reopen the Warren Commission Report if elected President.

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion* Volume 158 Number 17 Issue 2786 April 27, 1968
Published weekly (except the last week in July, the second and fourth weeks in August and the last week in December)
and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy
40c. Yearly subscription \$10; Foreign \$11; Armed Forces personnel or students, \$6. Send all remittances and correspond-
ence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department, The New Republic, 381
West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright© 1968 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class
Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

COMMENT 5-6

After the Riots, What It's About,
Fit News

The Infernal, Eternal, Internal Combustion
Engine - Ralph Nader 7

The Repossessed - Gilbert B. Friedman 8

Big Brother Keeps Tabs on Insurance
Buyers - Stanford N. Sesser 11

Hung Up on Hair - David Sanford 12

Black Chutzpah - John Osborne 14

Student Power, Italian Style
- Danilo Zolo 16

TFX Trouble - Stanley Jarolem
and Daniel Kahn 18

Activism Can Be Fun
- Stanley Kauffmann 22

Nat Turner Revisited - Richard Gilman 23

BOOKS - Review by Patrick Anderson 32

CORRESPONDENCE 35

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief - Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor - Alex Campbell
Literary Editor - Richard Gilman
Associate Literary Editor - Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors - James Ridgeway,
David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone
Assistant to the Editors - F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor - Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel,
Robert Brustein, Robert Coles,
Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson,
John Osborne, Paul Wieck

S.E. Asia Correspondent - Zalin B. Grant

Publisher - Garth Hite

Circulation Manager - Bertha Lehman

Business Manager - Glenon Matthiesen

New York Advertising Representative -
E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White
50 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

Office of Literary Editor - 17 Charlton St.,
New York, N.Y. 10014

After the Riots

It would be easy to say, after the riots it's back to apathy as usual; everyone exchanging congratulations on being alive and only small folks' property burned, and nothing done about roots. Easy, but maybe unfair. Bigger fire next time, certainly, if nothing is done. But it's at least conceivable that Kenneth B. Clark's old movie won't flicker on the screen again. Clark is the Negro psychologist who told President Johnson's riot commission that official riot reports dating all the way back to 1919 made "a kind of Alice in Wonderland with the same moving picture reshown . . ."; same analysis, recommendations, inaction. *The New York Times* last week rumbled with stately editorial warnings: ". . . restoration of tranquillity . . . provides not the remotest basis for a conclusion that anything fundamental has been solved." Yet, putting aside predictable crudities like Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's orders to his police to "shoot to kill" and "shoot to maim or cripple," surely it is not too much to hope that Senator Eugene McCarthy is right when he says he detects a significant change of public mood. "In my campaign across the country," the presidential candidate told a Boston University audience, "I have observed that people are no longer content" with inaction. What sort of action do they want? There will always be some who discern the Red hand in every riot; just as unfortunately there will always be some cheers for Mayor Daley's mow-'em-down strategy. But most of us are not taken in by Red-hand (or Black-power) talk, preferring to believe with McCarthy that "we yield agitators far too much respect if we think they have the power to call forth literally thousands to devastate cities like Cleveland, Baltimore or Washington." Most of us are now aware that "the most important and profound causes of riots are rooted in the conditions of our modern urban life and especially in the ghettos of our great cities." True, this awareness has not led yet to action and so far barely promises an end of inaction. But it has led McCarthy to a proposition that more and more Americans may be willing to endorse. McCarthy said in Boston, "One of the ancient rules of moral theology is that anyone who is in power has at least this responsibility: You cannot eliminate all conditions which may drive men to viciousness or to evil, but at least you have an obligation to try to establish such conditions that a person need not be expected to exercise a kind of heroic virtue in order to stay out of crime, or to avoid dishonesty, or anti-social behavior. Certainly we in this country have the power to establish such conditions."

In earnest of which, McCarthy's program includes a minimum income for all Americans, guaranteed by the federal government. Senator Robert Kennedy wants the federal government to guarantee jobs for all of those who seek them.

TRB's column this week calls these "ideas that have reached their time and are on their way." We think he's right about this, but that the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. rightly perceived, and was not alone in perceiving, that although a new world of race relations is struggling to be born in America, the birth is blocked by the nation's deep, tragic involvement in the Vietnam war. President Johnson finally perceived it, and the war may end sooner than seemed possible March 31, the day Mr. Johnson announced his intentions on negotiating and to step aside. Nevertheless, the Vietnam entanglement is unlikely to finish before a further desperate and clumsy attempt at a Caesarian, in the form of more city riots . . . unless firm remedial steps are taken. "Firm" in this context *doesn't* mean MACE or shoot-to-kill. Putting down riots with a firm hand will abort better race relations, not give birth to them. Riots have to be prevented, and one way is fast building that will provide jobs for the unemployed, homes for the homeless and decent compensation for the small businessman who has been uprooted by the looting and arson. It should start soon. There's very little time.

What It's About

Senator Eugene McCarthy went to the heart of the matter on April 16 when he told reporters that to get a Vietnam peace the Administration ought to declare its willingness to accept a Saigon coalition government that includes the National Liberation Front of the Viet Cong. McCarthy declared, "You might as well say it before the talks because that's what the war is about." It is indeed. The Viet Cong rules and collects taxes in a good part of South Vietnam. It cannot be militarily crushed and cannot be excluded from any South Vietnamese government that is to endure. Would public willingness by Washington to accept a coalition in Saigon destroy the existing Thieu-Ky regime? Probably, but if we're going to have peace this regime has to be replaced. However, South Vietnamese politics being what they are, Thieu or Ky or both are liable to reappear as members even of a coalition that included the NLF.

Would a coalition just be a thin disguise for a 100 percent communist takeover? Possible, but by no means inevitable. South Vietnam is full of non-communists who want peace and a coalition. Under Thieu-Ky, many of these are still in jail.

Fit News

Presidents are not elected by newspapers, but without the press candidates would get nowhere. Unlike TV networks with equal time problems, newspapers are under no obligation to provide equal, column-inch for column-inch attention to every candidate, bona fide or kook. When Senator Eugene McCarthy made a major civil rights speech April 11 in Boston – notable primarily for its espousal of a government-assured "minimum income for all Americans" – news coverage differed widely. *The Washington Post* and *Boston Globe* considered it page-one news. *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, in a city recovering from racial incidents, mentioned it not at all. *The New York Times* reported the speech, but on page 22. What made the story major in two cities, minor in one, and no story at all in another?

Columbia University math professor Serge Lang recently wrote the *Times* to complain about the coverage McCarthy got in the *Times'* Sunday "News of the Week in Review" section. "*The New York Times* has consistently taken the attitude that only the Kennedy candidacy represents a serious threat against Johnson. In line with this judgment, 'The News of the Week in Review' March 17 (the week after the New Hampshire primary) gave Kennedy and Johnson more than three-fourths of the front page, with large photographs, and the rest to McCarthy, without a photograph, calling his victory 'pyrrhic.' On March 24 it gave half the front page to Kennedy and Johnson again, relegating McCarthy this time to page two." In a second letter Lang noted that the April 7 "Week in Review" (after the Johnson withdrawal, the Wisconsin primary won by McCarthy, and the murder of King) did not even report the Wisconsin primary.

Responding to Lang's first letter, Robert Whalen, the "Week in Review" editor wrote: "I am afraid you are confusing opinion with news judgment. It was our judgment that the most significant news of the week was the confrontation between the President and Senator Kennedy. . . ." (Interesting, since in the New Hampshire primary McCarthy polled 42 percent of the vote to Kennedy's 1.4 percent.) "McCarthy's achievement," Whalen continued, "while dramatic and very meaningful in its effect on the campaign must take secondary treatment. Realistic judgment indicates that the contest will be mainly between Johnson and Kennedy and that McCarthy must be considered an outside prospect."

Whalen thanked Lang for his letter, which the *Times* decided not to print. Asked to comment on his "realistic judgment," Whalen says, "I don't want to discuss it."

The Infernal, Eternal, Internal Combustion Engine

Since 1951, when Professor Haagen-Smit discovered the bond between smog and autos, the car manufacturers, by act and inaction, have been telling Southern Californians that there is something eternal about the internal combustion engine (ICE). For years, the industry's assertion was that only the ICE could give Americans what they were deemed to want in vehicle performance. Californians and the rest of the nation believed it and began to strain over how fast to clean up the ICE, rather than how fast to displace it entirely with far superior systems.

Now the advanced, virtually pollution-free steam engine – a far cry from the Stanley Steamer of yore – is about to make an enduring debut. Unlike electric vehicle proposals, the auto industry will have a far more difficult time obfuscating the issues, suppressing innovation and dismissing steam's advocates as atavistic eccentrics.

In an authoritative analysis, soon to be released by Resources for the Future Inc., physicist Robert Ayres concludes that recent innovation and advances in new materials have solved many of the nagging problems that plagued steam engines early in the century. These solved problems included slow start-up, weight and exorbitant water consumption. The modern reciprocating steam engine belches less than one percent of the various kinds of pollution given off by the ICE; it performs with very little noise and can be fully competitive in price and performance.

One such steam-engine car has been designed and built by the Williams Brothers – inventors in Ambler, Pa. Using kerosene as its fuel, the Williams car has attracted serious attention among specialists and visits from domestic auto companies. The interest is obvious: here is a steam engine that provides extremely high torque, low maintenance, very high combustion efficiency and low fuel consumption even under repetitive start-stop conditions. Such a steam engine eliminates the transmission, clutch, starter motor, distributors, spark plugs (except one), muffler and carburetor. The engine would be cheaper to build and easier to maintain.

Ford Motor Co. has shown the most overt interest in steam engines. It has done unrevealed work at its own facilities and recently moved to establish a strong relationship with Thermo Electron Inc., a small science-based plant in Waltham, Mass. A two-year joint development venture was launched ostensibly to develop

low-power steam engines for use as outboard boat motors or golf-cart power plants. An application to motor vehicles was not officially contemplated in the agreement. Ford was also given the right to buy 100,000 shares of Thermo Electron at a stated price (20 percent of their shares outstanding). What made Thermo Electron a natural candidate for such an acquisitive move issued from work that company did for the Pentagon on steam generators that could not be easily heard by the Viet Cong. When the company began looking for opportunities to use this know-how for civilian application, Ford decided that a footloose innovator could cause trouble or, alternatively, could bring into the Ford stable a bit of self-insurance for a rainy day should steam become a focal point for anti-pollutionists in and out of government.

Ford's concern is not misplaced; though one would have liked to sense something more positive in attitude. Clear signs in recent months point to a serious revival of the steam principle for vehicle propulsion. The Commerce Department's Technical Advisory Panel on auto pollution reported in February that the reciprocating steam engine power plant is a reasonable alternative to the ICE "in terms of performance and emission requirements." The chairman of the panel, Professor Richard Morse of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has become such a believer in steam engines licking pollution that his company, Energy Systems, is seeking to interest government departments in funding the development of demonstration vehicles.

Steam engines have other advantages over competing displacements such as electric vehicles – even assuming the latter's range, speed, and recharging problems are overcome. Steam engines burn fuel which would keep the petroleum industry busy, though eliminating the need for tetraethyl lead (itself a major pollutant) would upset Ethyl Corp., jointly owned by General Motors and Standard Oil of New Jersey, and DuPont. Service stations and repair and maintenance industries would not suffer as much disruption as would be the case with electric vehicles. And because steam is less economically disruptive to existing capital commitments, the level of non-technical obstacles to such an innovation is lower.

The next step is to awaken the federal government to steam's potential for drastically curbing pollution. In a carefully conceived government strategy lies the main hope for a breakthrough. Certainly, the industry cannot be relied upon to lead the way. No domestic auto maker has published any research findings on the steam engine. All are mum; but behind the corporate curtain engineers are plainly following managerial directives to prepare the case against. However, they'll soon have a chance to fail at this unprofessional mis-

sion, set for them by corporate parochialism not by their own professional instincts. Senators Warren Magnuson and Edmund Muskie will probably hold joint hearings next month on steam engine developments.

There is some stirring in the executive branch. HEW is trying to obtain more funds for demonstration vehicle-propulsion contracts; HUD is interested in applying steam propulsion to city buses. Government weakness in standards-setting emphasizes the need for more fundamental solutions. Many exhaust devices on California cars are failing to meet the state standard after an average 8,000 miles. It's too easy for drivers to disconnect the anti-smog devices (in contrast to systems inherent in the car, like steam engines).

So it's time for the federal government to invoke its procurement power to encourage steam engine producers. The government created the private nuclear power industry, spending enormous sums aimed at

cheaper power. Now it is human health that's at stake. The coming hearing will permit HUD, HEW and the Department of Transportation to reconsider their coolness to Senators Magnuson's and Muskie's 1967 proposal to launch a research and development program for alternative vehicle-propulsion systems.

The auto industry has been unprogressive about propulsion systems because of its capital investment in building and servicing the gas-gluttonous ICE. Professor Morse excoriated the industry at the annual meeting of the Society of Automotive Engineers as "not really moving with the mainstream of many other technically-based progressive industrial groups." He added that "the time is ripe for automotive innovation in other industries" (his emphasis). As auto pollution problems worsen in our cities, the trail to alternative power sources for motor vehicles can be blazed by new pioneers. Antitrust enforcement, government procurement and government-sponsored demonstration projects can give critical help.

RALPH NADER

The Repossessed

by Gilbert B. Friedman

Mr. Jones sits nervously in his chair talking across the desk to his attorney. "If they attach my wages," he says, "I'll be fired from my job. I had a buddy at work who was fired just last week on his first attachment."

"What is the basis of the claim the collection agency is suing you for?" his attorney asks.

"I don't really understand," says Mr. Jones. "A few months ago I bought a new used car and I got behind in the payments. Ninety-eight dollars a month was just too much. So they came and took the car. Then I received a notice that they were going to sell the car unless I paid the full balance of \$1,300. Fat chance! If I can't pay \$98 a month, how am I going to pay \$1,300 all at once? So they sold it, but now they want \$500 more from me. How can they do that after they sold the car, anyway? I have no way of getting that kind of money, and if they attach my wages, I'll be fired for sure. What can I do?"

This sort of conversation takes place in attorneys' offices throughout the country. The \$500 which this

man is being sued for is the amount named in a legal action known as the "deficiency" judgment, and it is a last step in a common and rather unsavory chain of events.

The story goes something like this: Mr. and Mrs. Jones see an ad that says, "Come on in to Uncle Steve's Friendly Used Car Lot and pick out the new used car of your choice. No money down, low monthly payments, and 36 months to pay." So they go on in and pick out a shiny late model sedan with a placard in the windshield saying "only \$50 a month!" They talk to Uncle Steve, their friendly used car dealer, and things get a bit more complicated. First there is a \$500 loan from Sharkskin Finance Company for the first month's payment. Sharkskin will have the Jones' household furniture as security and Uncle Steve gets a kickback from Sharkskin for steering in the Joneses. Then there are the finance charges, the credit life, health and accident insurance, and a few other charges. By the time Mr. Jones has signed all the papers he's agreed to pay \$98 a month. The funny thing is that as he drives the shiny new car out of the lot, Mr. Jones doesn't know that he's paying more than \$2,000 for the car.

GILBERT B. FRIEDMAN is a practicing attorney in San Francisco.

For several months the Joneses get those payments in promptly. But pretty soon they're feeling pinched; they can't afford the car, and besides it isn't running all that good. So they stop making payments; Uncle Steve sends them a couple of letters; then one day Mr. Jones comes out to get into his car, and it isn't there. It has been repossessed.

When a car is "repossessed," it is usually taken back legally. There are firms whose specialty is "stealing" back cars of buyers who fail to keep up on their payments. They spot the car from its license plate and description; hot-wire it, if necessary; and simply drive it off. These firms are acting entirely within the law; since Mr. Jones didn't pay for the car in full, he is merely the registered owner. The legal owner is Uncle Steve or the financier that made the principal loan.

When Uncle Steve gets the car back, he sells it to a wholesaler—not for the \$2,000 plus, but for \$900. And this is where the deficiency judgment comes in.

When the car is repossessed, Mr. Jones still owes \$1,300. Uncle Steve has sold it for only \$900. So he sends Mr. Jones a bill for the difference plus repossession charges and "reasonable" attorney fees, \$500 total. Since Mr. Jones can't come up with the money, Uncle Steve goes to court and gets the deficiency judgment. Nor is that all. Mr. Jones still owes Sharkskin Finance Company for that \$500 he used to make the first payment, and if he stops making monthly installments on that, they'll come and get his furniture. Quite likely there will be another deficiency judgment.

Every state allows deficiency judgments. It's big business. Merchandise is sold at ridiculously high prices with little or no down payment required. What is stressed is the monthly or weekly payment, never the total cost. It used to be that merchants gave credit to make a profit on the product they were selling; today many merchants sell merchandise to make their main profit on the finance charges.

When a person is served with a summons and complaint notifying him that he is being sued for a deficiency judgment, he is also usually served a paper informing him that his wages are to be garnisheed, a modern parallel to debtor's prison. Garnishment means that the court orders the employer to withhold a certain amount of an employee's earnings, as much as one-half depending on the state, to satisfy the judgment. The employer must withhold this amount of the employee's wages and turn it over to the sheriff. If the employer doesn't do this, he can get himself into legal difficulty for failure to obey a court order. The garnishment can be made even before Mr. Jones has a chance to argue the case in court. The bank or finance company need merely file suit. The wages are then

attached and the sheriff holds the money until the outcome of the suit is decided.

In most states, Mr. Jones can file a "claim of exemption," contesting this garnishment, but this is seldom done. The claim of exemption is technical and rarely done without the aid of an attorney, and, even then, it often proves useless since the attorney for the other side can demand a court hearing. If the original item purchased was a necessity, usually no claim of exemption is allowed.

Most employers find the whole procedure of having their employees' wages garnisheed a bother to their office payroll staff. It has been estimated that it costs some large employers as much as \$60,000 a year just to process these garnishments. In addition, many employers take garnishments as a sign of their employees' unreliability. So many employers, large and small, fire the employee. Thousands of employees each year are discharged from employment for this reason: their wages were garnisheed once too often.

What can an attorney do for a person thus threatened? He can look to see if there has been any violation of any of the technical laws surrounding the sale of the car. If so he can write the dealer that his client wants to rescind the contract, and he states that if they sue, he, the lawyer, will defend all actions. Sometimes that ends it. Sometimes, even if everything is proper and only a fairly modest judgment has been brought against the person, some type of pay plan can be worked out after compromising the claim anywhere from one-third to one-half. But if there is no hope for a settlement, the only thing the attorney can do is advise his client to go through bankruptcy proceedings, wiping out this along with all his other debts.

Unfortunately filing bankruptcy is sometimes not

Taking Them to Court

One of the most notable facts uncovered by the report relates to the frequency with which a small group of retailers utilized the courts to enforce their claims with respect to installment contracts. Eleven of the 18 low-income market retailers reported 2,690 judgments in 1966. Their legal actions resulted in 1,568 garnishments and 306 repossessions. For this group, one court judgment was obtained for every \$2,200 of sales. In effect, low-income market retailers make extensive use of the courts in collecting debts. While general market retailers may take legal action as a last resort against delinquent customers, some low-income market retailers depend on legal action as a normal order of business.

Federal Trade Commission report of
March 13, 1968 on *Practices of Dis-*
trict of Columbia Retailers

the end. If the finance company cannot get the debtor to reaffirm the debt in writing after he files bankruptcy – and the finance companies have a whole chapter in their manual on the various techniques to do this – then they try another device. The rule is that if a creditor can prove that the debtor obtained the credit (loan on a car) through fraud, then this debt is *not* discharged.

On an application for credit or a loan, there is always a space on the form where the customer is supposed to list all of his debts and financial obligations. But on most forms of this kind, the space allowed is about three lines, hardly room for the majority of customers who buy heavily on credit. In addition, the man helping the customer will often gloss over this portion of the form, allowing the customer to believe that this portion is not of great importance. Nevertheless, the customer, on the bottom of the form signs a statement which certifies the completeness and truth of all replies. After bankruptcy is filed, the finance company can claim that there is a discrepancy between the amount of money the debtor listed in the three lines provided and the total debts listed in the bankruptcy action. If they had known his true situation, they say, they would never have made the loan. In short, the debtor through fraud and deceit has tricked the poor finance company. Although few of these suits are successful, they continue to keep a cloud over the debtor's head and can be used to force some kind of settlement of the claim.

Bankruptcy takes paperwork and time, and if, upon hearing that the debtor intends to file bankruptcy, the finance company, nevertheless, goes through with the wage attachment, the debtor may find himself a *jobless* bankrupt. The most frequent victims of this system are people with low incomes, often in minority groups, for whom the easy credit policies so widely promoted and advertised seem an ideal way to get ahead. (The President's Commission on Civil Disorders found that deceptive sales and credit practices are among the 12 bitterest grievances in American ghettos.)

One way to break the system would be the elimination of deficiency judgments and garnishment of wages. In 1961 California passed a law outlawing deficiency judgments. Unfortunately, it left one exception: automobiles, which account for 42 percent of all credit sales. A law prohibiting deficiency judgments would make auto dealers check a prospective purchaser's credit more carefully, or at least not let the purchaser become committed to payments he obviously can't keep up, based on his income. And if the dealer did sell the car and payments weren't made,

the dealer would have to choose *between* the car and the payments. *Today, he can get both.*

The case for the elimination of wage garnishments is even stronger. Three states, Florida, Texas and Pennsylvania, have laws prohibiting attachment of wages. Comparable legislation in the rest of the states or by the Congress would provide a new kind of security to millions of Americans who live in dread of being fired. They would know that their job was safe from creditors and that the money needed to feed their families would be there. The welfare rolls would be reduced by the number of families forced into unemployment because their bosses wanted to eliminate unnecessary wage expense.

There are two arguments made by the commercial world against this change in the law. One is that credit will not be given as easily, and the poor man will suffer most because he is least able to pay cash. Even if you accept this premise, the fact, as given by the Associated Credit Bureau, is that there is just as much credit given in states where garnishment of wages is not allowed as there is in states where it is. This is measured by the ratio of installment credit to retail sales, and it is approximately \$1 installment credit for every \$4 retail sales in all states regardless of what their garnishment law is.

The second argument is that the percentage of recovery on accounts assigned to collection agencies tends to be lower in states where wage garnishment cannot be freely gotten. This argument does not hold up either. In New York where the creditor can only garnishee 10 percent of a man's wages, or New Jersey or Nebraska where he is limited to 20 percent, there is a higher percentage of recovery of debts than in California where the creditor can get 50 percent of a man's wages.

There is a direct relationship between the ease of garnishment and the rate of bankruptcy being filed. The easier it is to garnishee a worker's wages in a state, the higher the number of bankruptcies filed. And once a straight bankruptcy is filed, most creditors don't get a cent. At present the number of bankruptcies that are filed are increasing by a rapid rate, and 90 percent of them are not businesses but individual working people.

Two versions of a Truth-in-Lending Law, making creditors spell out the yearly rate of interest, have passed the Senate and House. The House version has a more significant and less publicized provision on garnishment. Spurred on by Rep. Leonor Sullivan (D, Mo.), the House version outlaws the garnishment of wages on the first \$30, permitting garnishment of only 10 percent of wages for a family over \$30. If this provision isn't killed in Senate-House conference, we shall have taken a long step forward.

Big Brother Keeps Tabs On Insurance Buyers

Last year Retail Credit Co. supplied 35 million reports on people to 40,000 customers. From its 1,800 offices across North America it took in \$135 million in revenues. Yet it has retained almost complete anonymity. Operating in a shroud of secrecy and beyond the scrutiny of any federal or state regulation, this Atlanta-based firm has built up files on 45 million Americans; and not just statistics on names, addresses and family. Retail Credit inspectors scrutinize the drinking habits of everyone they investigate. A given file might touch on any number of allegations, including rumors of extramarital affairs and homosexuality. The individual concerned has no idea the investigation is taking place and never has the opportunity to answer any of the charges.

The name Retail Credit is misleading. Except for a subsidiary operation, it does no credit checking. The vast bulk of its business comes from investigations of people who apply for insurance; Retail Credit brags it works for every major insurance company in North America. The second largest source of the company's revenue stems from investigating job applicants.

Here's how it works: Mr. X applies for, say, life insurance; the insurance agent tells him the company will let him know if he can get a policy; the company contacts Retail Credit, which assigns an inspector to do a report on X; the inspector visits X's neighbors and business associates, writes up a report and sends it to the insurer, who decides on the basis of the report whether coverage should be granted.

Thus the prejudices of insurance companies must of necessity be the prejudices of Retail Credit. If they don't want to insure homosexuals, Retail Credit must find out if the applicants are homosexuals. If they decide, not to write policies for Negroes, Retail Credit must pay attention to the applicant's race.

Retail Credit's *Inspector's Handy Guide*, copyrighted in 1962, revised in 1965, and dropped only last fall after excerpts from it appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, lists the points that should be covered in the inspection report. Under a section headed "West Indian Island Races" (including Puerto Ricans) it asks: "Is the applicant pure Caucasian or a mixture? Describe the individual if a mixture of races to show whether predominantly Caucasian or Negro. It is not practicable to attempt to estimate percentages."

The guide has the following questions about applicants for insurance who are Mexican-Americans: "Is he a permanent resident or the floater type?" "Does

he occupy a hovel type of residence or a good substantial home?" "Does applicant associate with Mexicans or with Anglo-Saxons?"

When a church applied for fire insurance, the inspector was required to note "whether Baptist, Episcopalian, Methodist, etc., and whether the congregation is composed of Negro or white people, or general racial makeup of congregation." Information about apartment houses included "racial descent" of tenants, and a report on workmen's compensation would state "predominant races" in the neighborhood.

Retail Credit claims it cut out such reporting practices last year, and that it will no longer supply racial information unless insurance companies specifically request it. According to Charles M. Watt, Retail Credit vice president and secretary, 100 auto insurance companies and 16 life insurance companies have already made such requests. Mr. Watt won't name the companies or give their size.

Retail Credit officials are hesitant to discuss in detail their investigative techniques. But no such reluctance exists on the part of their main competitor, Hooper-Holmes Bureau Inc., which has files on nine million people. Hooper-Holmes and Retail Credit both say their operations are identical.

In his headquarters in Morristown, N. J., Frederick E. King, president of Hooper-Holmes, describes the procedure of an inspector suspicious of an extramarital affair: "You go to a neighbor and establish rapport," he says. "Then you ask, 'What's your opinion of X's home life; how do you think of him as a family man?' This will usually elicit some hint—through the expression on their faces or the way they answer. Then you start digging. You press them as far as they go, and if they become recalcitrant, you go somewhere else. If you go to enough people, you get it." Homosexuality, Mr. King asserts, "is one of the most difficult things to determine." But, he points out, "If you have that sixth sense that something is wrong, you dig. The tip-off is their mode of living, their circle of friends and the organizations they belong to." In defense of this line of inquiry, Mr. King says that insurance companies are interested only in the odds, not the morals, and that "a life insurance applicant who is a homosexual is a greater risk."

When this information goes into a file, it is available to almost all comers. The State Department, FBI and other federal agencies as a standard practice use Retail Credit's and Hooper-Holmes' data. "The FBI is constantly in our files," Mr. King states. For a price, anyone can buy the material. You simply have your company make an inquiry under the guise of an employment check, and the report gets mailed out.

There is one exception to easy access—the person who wants to see his own record. Suppose an insur-

ance company turns you down because a neighbor characterized you to Retail Credit as a homosexual. Under the contract with Retail Credit, your insurance agent can tell you only that you were considered a bad risk. He can't repeat the charge, tell you an inspection report had been done, or even mention Retail Credit's name. If you should get wind of what happened and go to Retail Credit, it won't do you any good—the company will refuse to confirm or deny it did a report on you. According to Mr. Watt, Retail Credit will merely invite a person to write a statement about whatever might be bothering him, and “we tell him if we did a report, we'll send the statement to anyone who asked about him.”

No one at Retail Credit claims the information on all of the 45 million records is correct. A Pennsylvania man tells what happened when his wife was turned down for major medical coverage by an insurance company: “I refused to accept this decision and carried my complaint in a direct visit with the New York office of the insurance company involved without satisfaction. I further carried my complaint to the insurance commissioner of Pennsylvania and he was unable to learn the specific reason for this rejection. Retail Credit refused to grant me an interview and thus my only recourse was through the courts. But

the best attorneys advised me that it was virtually impossible to inspect their confidential files.

“Through considerable expense and through a means that I do not have liberty to state, I was able to learn that my wife was charged with being an alcoholic. Yet my wife has never consumed more than a dozen drinks in the 20 years of our marriage. To this day no major insurance company will cover her, yet I have never been given the opportunity to correct this horrible fallacy.”

Retail Credit also owns, through a subsidiary, 62 local credit bureaus from Atlanta to Montreal that contain files on millions of additional people. But unlike the insurance inspections, the credit files concentrate on financial rather than moral hazards, covering income, nonpayment of bills, lawsuits.

Retail Credit credit bureaus are all affiliated with the Associated Credit Bureaus of America Inc., an organization of 2,200 local bureaus that allows each one access to the combined total of 110 million files. All of which raises an intriguing possibility: If Retail Credit and the ACB of A ever decided to combine credit files with insurance inspection reports, the network would encompass virtually the entire life history of every adult American.

STANFORD N. SESSER

Hung Up on Hair

by David Sanford

Alienation is the most prevalent, certainly the most fashionable, disease of youth. It has been going around for some time but a particularly virulent strain appeared just as America began sinking in the Vietnam mud. Etiology is always difficult to trace, but the disease itself is easy enough to diagnose. Its symptoms, to mention only a few, include drug taking, course flunking, job quitting, not caring, and hair growing. This latter is perhaps easiest to detect, since hair is hard to hide and no one wants to.

Since the symptoms of disease normally disappear when the illness has run its course, many observers looked for a lot of hair to hit the barbershop floor recently when Eugene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy jumped in to save the political process. Almost overnight, politics ceased to be irrelevant. And there was some feeling that, anomie assuaged, there would now be long lines at the barber's. The “Clean for Gene” boomlet resulted in some depilation among marginally

alienated young men who felt strongly enough about Senator McCarthy that they would go to any length—including self-mutilation—to help spread his word. (It was felt that all that hair might get in the way of reasoned discourse between the McCarthy kids and the bourgeois adults who had to be proselytized in order for McCarthy to become President.) Bobby Kennedy didn't have a beard but he did have a long mop of hair hanging down his forehead (some say to cover a bald spot, but that is only a rumor. The hair on his chest is grey if one can infer anything from that.) Kennedy, in getting *his* hair trimmed, was not coming clean for Gene, as it turned out, but rather broadening his own political base. His barber may have been the first to know for sure he was in the running.

It isn't known just how widespread the haircutting phenomenon is, although the other day an astute Washington journalist, lunching with a friend who had just cut off a beard, was heard to say: “I know

why you did it. It's a whole new scene. The hippies are dead. The New Left is dead. And the war is over." It all sounds a bit premature. It certainly remains to be seen whether the hairy era has had it. Actually it seems rather unlikely, for as with other accoutrements of alienation hair has been sprouting out on persons who are not themselves sick. What had been an aberration has become high fashion. Hair is everywhere. (They may still be wearing butches in the Rocky Mountain West, but at least in the East hair is very big.)

Everyone is acutely aware of hair and likewise everyone seems to have strong feelings about it. Mothers break into tears when sons come home with mustaches; sideburns shrink an inch when college boys go home for spring vacation; allowances are cut if hair isn't. Jobs are sometimes at stake. (An unidentified Greenwich Village hippie recently allowed an ad agency to cut off a rather handsome, if somewhat unkempt, shock of hair and a beard for \$200 and a chance to appear in magazine ads suggesting that any smart young man would shave it off for a career in chemical engineering: "No matter how great the sacrifice, baby, when money calls I go.") And barbers – before they decided to become beauticians and raise their prices – were contemplating hara-kiri, because no one was getting his hair cut any more.

Everyone it seems is hung up on hair – certainly the more fashionable private schools. One school in the East prides itself on its "few rules" but "stresses simplicity in all things, including dress and appearance." That means, in essence, no miniskirts and "neatly trimmed and unostentatious" hair. The school admits it doesn't yet know how mini is mini or how neat, neat. A second school requires: "no shaggy-dog hairdos, hair trimmed reasonably close and on a slant, back and sides; hair never to reach collar level; sideburns no lower than about the middle of the ear; no bangs; hair brushed back from the forehead; no beards or feeble attempts." For the school hair is a matter of decorum. Hair is a threat – to impulse control, to taste, to normality.

The military, which is not at all abashed about imposing authoritarian controls, doesn't like hair either. The Marines permit an occasional non-eccentric mustache. The Army and Air Force want hair neat and closely trimmed. The hairy man has but one recourse, to join the Navy, the only branch of the military where a beard – short, trimmed and ordinary – is permitted. The military's hair hang-ups derive from notions about discipline.

Elsewhere, that is outside the schools, the service, the Post Office, presumably IBM (where they even dress alike), Greece, Disneyland, Argentina and Castro's Cuba (where strange as it seems, mustaches,

beards, long hair and tight pants are all now banned), hair clearly is flourishing. Very few people seem to be heeding the red, yellow and blue billboards (put up by John Donnelly & Sons) with the hairy hippie and the admonition: Beautify America, Get a Haircut.

If the new breed of barbers could convince American males that hair styling is not just another insidious conspiracy by the homosexual mafia, men's salons – already a burgeoning business – would make a fortune. "Some men – especially rugged, down-to-earth types – are still apt to think of a hair style as a fancy fashion designed for effete males," admits *Professional Barber* magazine, in its description of a new style called "The Sidewinder" favored by one Mr. Vi-Vi of the De-Val Barber Shop of El Monte, California. Vi-Vi, it seems, prefers that particular hairdo because of its casual, flattering, *unmistakably masculine* style. According to *Professional Barber* 160 firms now put out men's lines of grooming aids, where only 78 existed five years ago. In 1963 there were no face creams or mask preparations for men; now there are 29, and cosmetic firms like Clairol and Revlon are moving into the men's market in a big way. The razor cut is now the rage, along with dyes, dryers, teasing, hairnets, and sprays. And it is all – at a cost of \$5 to \$100 a session – assertively masculine.

The list of products and services is unending but the most interesting and probably the most successful new product line is false hair – not just toupees that look like toupees but sideburns, beards, mustaches. Hollywood Joe's Hairpiece Co. Inc. puts out six varieties of burns (three pairs for \$80), 13 semi- and full beards, and 10 distinctly different false mustaches (\$10 apiece). Hollywood Joe's ads show how a bald, grey, nondescript fellow can be turned into a genuine lunatic through "hirsute magic." Aesthetics aside, the product of the transformation is more interesting for the change.

All the old psychological and psychiatric assumptions about hair and why we do the things we do to it may now be invalid since hair has become de rigueur. An experimental psychologist with some time on his hands might profitably replicate some of the observations of Hans Von Heutig, Havelock Ellis, Melitta Sperling and Charles Berg, all of whom read great meaning into hair. Long before anyone knew the connection between blondes and fun, Von Heutig had discovered that redheads commit more crime. Ellis found a correlation between lots of hair and virility and between hairiness and sexiness in both sexes. Sperling, seeing patients in analysis, related mustache growth to unconscious passive female wishes (Aha, you're unsure of your masculinity). Berg, whose work, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*, appeared in 1936,

had the most well-developed notions. Hair cutting represents castration, a death impulse, and aggression against narcissism of the self. Shaving is a ritual much like the subincision rites of the Arundas. In Freudian terms, the id causes hair to grow, the superego demands that it be cut off, and the ego adjudicates the

conflict. In Oedipal complex terms "it is as if the little Oedipus conceived the hair (phallus) as a menace to his mother, which would meet with her disapproval or with a withdrawal of her love. Therefore, he cuts it off to please her." Some of us even today are still cutting it off to please mother.

Black Chutzpah

by John Osborne

The rally was held in Georgetown, Arthur Waskow of the Institute for Policy Studies said, because it is time for militants to begin "talking to white Washington and white America" and it is time for that "because that's where the non-violence has to come from." Dick Gregory, his second fast ended and his hair and beard trimmed and he looking a little less ghastly than he was reported to have looked at Dr. King's funeral in Atlanta, said he was happy to be present because Washington was the city and Georgetown was the section of Washington where any white audience had to include "the sickest of the CIA, the rattiest of the FBI, the dumbest of the politicians, and the sickest and the rattiest and dumbest of the American people."

It is customary to report of Gregorisms of this kind that his hearers loved it. These hearers did not, really, and Gregory seemed to sense it. They laughed and clapped, a little, but mostly they took it as something they expected and rather agreed with and found neither shocking nor terribly amusing. Gregory, the last and star of seven major speakers, worked and worked and worked to work them up but he never quite succeeded. It was a strange occasion, in the open on the sunny Saturday afternoon of April 13 on a playground at the center of affluent and white Georgetown. It said something about white Washington and white America, but probably nobody there could tell just what it said. The newspaper, radio and TV reporters said it said that black and white Americans have to work together from now on, or else. It said to this listener that white Americans are going to get their asses kicked some more, but good, regardless of what they do and who they do it with. That was the language of the occasion - "asses," "bull-shit," "piss," "niggers," with a couple of brutal references to "Jews" thrown in by black speakers. The white speakers - Waskow, Tom Hayden from Newark and Harvey Cox from Harvard - said worthy and stirring things, with none of the clubbing words. They would better have

stayed home. The crowd, such as it was, was there to hear Gregory and the other black speakers and then, hearing them, reacted as if they were hearing the ping of the tennis balls flying throughout the rally on the courts beside the meeting ground.

The rally was scheduled by a group of local activists before Washington Negroes responded to the murder of Dr. King with four nights and days of burning and looting in the black ghettos and on their white fringes. Most of the 15,000 troops called in to smother the trouble were still around. A few of 7,000 arrested Negroes were still in jail. Ten dead, black and white, were in their graves. The original theme-line for the rally had been, "Is Washington Burning?" It was amended to "Why Did Washington Burn?" What with Dick Gregory to offer answers, plus the Reverend James Bevel of the King staff and Julius Hobson, a Negro economist who has set the Washington school system a-turvy with a court suit, you might think Georgetown would have turned out *en masse*. It didn't. The 600 or so people scattered about the playground included perhaps a hundred Negroes, 300 to 400 youngsters (quite a few black boys with white girls, but no black girls with white boys), and certainly no more than 200 adults from the neighborhood houses, few if any of which would sell for less than \$50,000. The Georgetown precinct police station is two blocks from the playground and the police were there in force. They stayed out of the way, beyond the fences, except when a white van marked "Identification Section" rolled to the middle of the ground and three plainclothesmen mounted a mugging camera - the kind used to photograph prisoners and applicants for permits - on a heavy tripod. They were getting hard looks from the Negroes and a few of the whites when a uniformed police captain told them to pack up and leave. A couple of Military Police jeeps cruised around the block. A white Georgetownner, not surprising others there who know him, *phutted* loud raspberries at Gregory and the Reverend Bevel, but

finally wandered off in one piece. Three young boys from the mildly swank Georgetown Day School, very white and blond and clean, distributed programs. Most of the helpers fussing with the loudspeaker system and about the rented Hertz flat-bed truck used as a platform were young white men, bearded, and white girls in miniskirts. A few young Negroes loped through the crowd with cans collecting money to pay for bringing the visiting speakers to Washington.

There were too many speakers for maximum effect, most of the speakers rambled to the point of incoherence, and the whole thing was essentially unreportable. It was not reported, certainly, in the papers read in Washington and on the Washington air, except in abbreviated caricature. How to report, for instance, that the speakers were clearly worried about Dr. King's death – not now, not primarily, because he was dead but because of the use being made of his death by "the captains and the kings" (Waskow) and "that fool LBJ" (Gregory)? "I'm sorry that Martin is dead," Julius Hobson said in a flat monotone, then added that Dr. King was a great man and a good man but he personified "two myths" – "black Christianity," which the whites use to shackle blacks, and "non-violence," which in this violent land is a "ludicrous" concept. "We'd better clear this up," the Reverend Bevel said. Johnson and certain black leaders want the country to believe that Dr. King's non-violence means "no killing of white people" and "that's not what it means." Better term it "political psychiatry for a sick society" and leave the psychiatry to "intelligent people." "I know that the American rulers do not accept intelligent people," he said. "We know that the barbarians destroy intelligent people." He had previously said, "I'm a political psychiatrist because I'm intelligent." It came out just like that, to the crowd, and it did not go over very well. Bevel got a better response when he indicated his doubts, shared by other speakers, that a lone white kook shot Dr. King. "If Johnson, or the CIA, or whoever shot Martin, thinks the black man is going to be quiet now, and shut up, they are wrong." There was loud applause.

Gregory hit the conspiracy line hard and often and in different ways. "Dr. King," he said at one point, "didn't get killed in Memphis by the FBI and the CIA. He got killed in white Memphis by white America." Later he said, mentioning the FBI and CIA again, "I believe they killed Martin Luther King" and added, very quietly and seriously, "I really believe that." He also said, at different times and in reiterations to which he returned again and again, that his white listeners "had to be the biggest fools in this world" if they believed that "white kooks," acting apart, killed John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers and the three

civil-rights workers in Mississippi, and Bobby Baker's confidential secretary (the girl who died with her pilot in a stunt-plane crash). Was Gregory joking, in half or at all, when he said that all of these and more, too, were killed and were going to be killed at the instance of the same "Nazi-Fascist conspiracy" – turning and waving toward the White House and Capitol Hill?

His big message, the one he hammered home to his white listeners, was that "you are the niggers of this society now. We've stopped being the niggers for the system and you've started being the niggers for the system." Now whites were down, blacks were up, whites were getting killed and killing each other. And, with a lippy grin: "I wish more of you'd be killed, because then maybe you'd wake up. If my black brothers kill more of you, maybe you'll realize how ignorant and stupid you are." Not that he *wanted* this to happen: "I'm not sick enough to stand here and tell you that I justify violence and killing." What he wanted, what he asked, was that "you get your ass off the grass and start raising hell" for social justice. Black niggers, Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans were up and raising hell for justice. The Jews ought to be – "that Jew, running around with his face tucked in his ass." Through it all there were cheers and laughs, mostly from the youngsters, but the main response was flat and passive. Maybe some in the crowd sensed that this was an act; that there was another Gregory – the Gregory, say, who went home to Chicago and called off his plans to mess up the Democratic National Convention in August because, "as a citizen and as an American I'm not going to be responsible for any violence or any rioting at all."

He finished in Georgetown his voice soaring to a mocking shriek, with the first sentence of the Declaration of Independence, the one that says the oppressed have a right to rise and destroy their oppressors. It was a smash line, a smash ending, it drew smashing applause, and Gregory spoiled it by coming back to the microphones for another twenty minutes.

A tag-end speaker, called by courtesy to the dead mikes while the TV cameramen were dismantling their gear, waved a copy of a printed sheet headed *Shaw's Last Stand*, referring to one of Washington's ghettos. As Gregory was wearily signing autographs on the truck and the Georgetowners were drifting away with their dogs, a uniformed police lieutenant made to take one of the sheets from the hood of the truck. A young Negro standing there snapped at the lieutenant, "That belongs to a lady." The lieutenant put it back, stared longingly at it for awhile, and then asked meekly if he could have it since nobody seemed to want it. "I told you, that belongs to a lady," the young Negro said again. The lieutenant hesitated, shrugged, and joined the cops returning to the precinct station.

Student Power, Italian Style

by Daniel Zolo

Florence

A violent students' revolt began about seven months ago in all major Italian universities. It went into its second phase towards the end of March; at the universities of Rome and Milan, many thousands of students armed themselves with stones and clubs, to defend the classrooms and halls they had "occupied," against armed police.

This incredible affair was enacted against an uneasy political background. Parliament is not sitting, political parties are busy campaigning for the elections of May 26 when new members will be chosen for the House of Deputies and the Senate. Cities and villages everywhere display the usual campaign slogans. But all politicians in Italy today, including the communist opposition, feel accused, and are conducting themselves with extreme caution.

The unpredictable element is the new, strong student movement and how it may affect the future of Italy. One has the impression of something beyond the scope of normal politics. It is the first time that Italian student organizations have concerned themselves with other problems than strictly university matters. The students are emerging as a movement capable of radically challenging and affecting political life; above all, altering cultural patterns. For the first time, the younger generation of Italy are demanding the power to control the processes that form their culture. This is unprecedented in Italy, where the prevailing character of academic life tends to be abstract and among the worst vestiges of the remaining heritage of fascism. The educational system in general, and particularly in the universities, is constructed to prepare students to become part of existing society, and to defend the Establishment.

What is happening in Italy has its counterpart in almost every other fairly advanced country in the world, including West Germany. From Berkeley to Warsaw, students are expressing themselves violently. The war in Vietnam confirmed to students what many had already felt, that the society they live in is sterile and corrupt and incapable for all its wealth and "progress" of finding alternatives to war and destruction. Nor is it surprising that Italian students would respond strongly to the revolutionary call first issued at Berkeley, considering the decadence and sterility of their own society, and its alliance with the United States. The war in Vietnam is strongly

supported by the government.

The fascist motto, "No politics in school," survived as a custom in Italian schools long after the fall of the fascist regime and is largely responsible for the traditional lack of involvement of the younger generation in the social problems of their country.

This environment has helped keep Italian students in a state of heteronomy, reluctant to get into politics and hiding their passivity behind an intellectual façade. They have accepted the contents of the curriculum and the didactic methods of the Establishment.

The present crisis erupted at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan, the only non-state run university in Italy. It spread rapidly to all the other major universities, soon involving tens of thousands of students. At Turin, the occupation of university buildings by students encountered heavy intervention by police called in by the university authorities, and resulted in mass arrests and indictments of students and those teachers who joined them in their revolt. In Florence, the awkward handling of a large student demonstration led to the dismissal of the Rector (who, however, was soon reinstated), and a massive increase in student protest, as a response of solidarity with students who were wounded by police during the demonstration. At Pisa, 8,000 students marched in the streets, blocking traffic for an entire day. In Rome, a bloody battle occurred between students and the law (again called in by the university Rector); the Rome police arrived in armored cars, and in battle dress. The students responded by burning cars, and using guerrilla tactics to occupy university buildings.

The students were fed up with the long sickness of the Italian university; the disorders against which even the weak student representative organizations had complained. Conditions had become intolerable, especially within the context of a nation rapidly developing technologically and economically. The scandalous methods of competition among the faculty for professorships stripped these men in the students' eyes of all intellectual and moral prestige. Operating as a baronial oligarchy, the *cattedre* traditionally manage and control the universities by Mafia methods and abuse their positions for profit. This is particularly true of the faculties of Medicine and the Sciences. It's common knowledge in Italy that higher education is in the hands of about 2,800 people, who run

a system that permits a majority of the professors who teach to dedicate no more than a fraction of their time to lecturing. This allows them to concentrate on more highly paid professional activities or politics.

The class character of university education in Italy is another major cause of discontent; 85 percent of those who graduate from the universities are of middle- or upper-class background. Large enrollments in recent years have not alleviated the situation but have just created greater awareness of the lack of facilities; overcrowded classrooms (300 or 400 students in a single room), scarcity of professors and assistants, of scientific equipment, of libraries, etcetera. The Italian government spends about a thousand miliardi of lire (\$1,500,000) for all the needs of all Italian universities; there are about half a million university students in Italy. This seriously limits the "right to study" guaranteed by the Italian constitution.

At the heart of the student protest is a radical criticism and rejection of the Italian university for being the tool of Italian capitalism and of capitalist culture in general. The students feel that the Italian "Establishment" is tightly tied in with the US, a nation that they feel has demonstrated a capacity for aggression and oppression of smaller nations, and is creating a world structure of economic power that stifles possibilities of human freedom.

While the model of black power and its leaders, like Stokely Carmichael and other Negroes with whom university groups have had direct contact, are important, ideologically it is probably the Cuban and the Chinese revolutions that offer them their strongest inspiration. Che Guevara comes closest to being an authentic Hero – "the new type of man who, alone and armed only with his individual convictions, of a new morality and an idea of a new society, has fought against insurmountable obstacles," says Herbert Marcuse. Another figure is a young Catholic priest who died in Florence of leukemia a few months ago, Don Lorenzo Milani, an advocate of civil disobedience and conscientious objection, who was brought to trial shortly before his death. His last book, *Letter to a Professor*, furnished the students with a revolutionary manual that has strongly influenced Catholic groups as well as Marxist ones. One of the odd aspects of the student movement is that its leadership includes a majority of non-orthodox Marxists, like for example those who write for a review called *Quaderni Piacenti*. All these groups are in bitter disagreement with the leaders of the PCI – the *Partita Comunista Italiana*. Then there are many Catholic organizations in open

dissent from the direction that the papacy of Paul VI has been taking since the Ecumenical Council; they are even more opposed to the Democratic Christian Party, the party that represents the most privileged class in Italy, which is strongly supported by the Italian bishops, and which official Catholicism feels to be representative of its own leanings.

It's difficult to say whether the student movement in Italy is a real threat to the Italian capitalistic system and the political power represented by the Democratic Christian and Social Democratic leadership of the government. The methods the students have adopted during this revolt include occupation of school buildings, rule by popular assembly, refusal of elected delegates, and organization of a student-run program – classes known as "contro-corsi" and still smaller groups of self-directed studies. Will all this become steps on the way to developing a new intellectual elite that will *not* be part of the society and thus will always be potentially revolutionary, beyond the present goals of transforming the content and form of university teaching and materials? No one knows.

At the very least, the movement appears as an impressive demonstration of revolutionary energy liberated not, as in the past, only from among the working classes and farmers, the traditional base of communist opposition, but primarily from the upper and middle classes. And the students are not being driven by a desire for vindication or to satisfy basic economic needs. Their energies are directed essentially against the "society of consumers," which they hold to be responsible for the exploitation of the poor, and the alienation of man living within our advanced industrial society. They do not intend to participate in this society, and they are refusing to accept plush positions in its inner structure, as producers, professionals, managers within the "system." At this moment, while the struggle continues in the universities themselves, the student movement is attempting to organize itself along national lines, and is studying its connection with the workers' movements, the trade unions and the farmers, to try to create a common strategy and a united front of battle.

The task is difficult. There is a strong tendency today, particularly among the working class in the north of Italy, to join the Social Democrats. This is a tendency which the Communist Party is not capable of stopping. But the student revolt seems to be a cause for hope even though it contains irrational and extremist elements and has been unable so far to set forth workable alternatives to the existing system. New leadership is being prepared in Italy today which is not inclined to subordinate itself to the paternal authoritarianism that is prevalent in all spheres of Italian life.

DANILO ZOLO teaches university classes and edits the review, *Testimonianze*.

The Big Bird Turned Out to Be a Turkey

TFX Trouble

by Stanley Jarolem and Daniel Kahn

"I don't see what was so great about McNamara as a Defense Secretary. Besides Vietnam, it seems to me they lose a TFX every time they send it up. I mean, just what did he do?"

— SENATOR EUGENE MCCARTHY

Less than two months after Robert S. McNamara announced that he was leaving his post as Secretary of Defense, Navy officials disclosed that they were studying rough plans for a new swing-wing plane to replace the trouble-plagued F-111B that the Senate Armed Services Committee turned thumbs down on, on March 28. The Navy had long opposed the McNamara concept of commonality providing for the building of an aircraft suitable for both the Navy (F-111B) and Air Force (F-111A).

There seems little doubt that the difficulties with the F-111 have been responsible, in part, for McNamara's departure from the Pentagon. And the eventual outcome of the conflict which has embroiled Congress and the Defense Department may well determine the ability of the military to withstand civilian purchasing control, as well as Congress' ability to influence the choice of weapons systems.

That outcome is still unknown. Congressional committees are now pushing a substitute plane, the VFX-1, for the F-111B. But the substitute is much costlier and Pentagon critics are already saying that it will prove to be too heavy for aircraft carrier use, just as the F-111B was. Basically the Air Force and Navy are still stubbornly battling for the privilege of having completely different aircraft.

The controversy that has grown up around the F-111 can be traced to the late 1950s, when the idea of a new fighter was beginning to surface in the various military services. The military had not yet begun to develop a fighter to replace those of the early and middle 1950s. The last truly new design on the part of the Air Force was the F-105. The Tactical Air Command was seeking to develop a replacement before this model became obsolete. TAC did not want to be

placed in the same position as during the early part of the Korean War, when it was forced to rely to a great extent on outmoded World War II aircraft to accomplish its tactical bombing missions. It was determined to develop a plane to serve both as a fighter and a bomber. It had also become evident that the fighter of the future must be able to range more widely and spend more time in the combat zone. With these objectives in mind, TAC envisioned an aircraft that could carry a substantial payload with a speed in excess of Mach 2 (1,300 mph), that could maneuver well in dogfighting, and take off from grass fields.

The Navy was also looking for a new fighter. After World War II, the emphasis in naval power had been shifting more and more toward the aircraft carrier and submarine. But an aircraft carrier's usefulness is largely determined by its ability to protect itself; the Navy was intent on finding an aircraft that would serve as a protector of the fleet. In some respects, the Navy problem was more complex than that of the Air Force. The Navy had to develop not only an aircraft but also an armaments system that would enable the aircraft to accomplish its mission. Thus the only suitable system would be a rocket system, which, in turn, was dependent on the development of a successful detection and tracking device. The Navy was also faced with the inherent limitations of carrier flying.

Although discussions of the problems of both services were undertaken during the Eisenhower Administration, no decision had been reached when John F. Kennedy took office. His Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, was in office only a short time before it became apparent to some of the "Whiz Kids" that there were similarities between the aircraft requirements of the two services. It seemed an opportune time for McNamara to test one of his favorite theories: The concept that both military effectiveness and financial savings could be achieved through multi-service weapons systems. The importance of this decision cannot be overestimated. It meant that, in the final analysis, the decision as to the weapons system

would not rest with the individual service but with the Defense Department itself. Although the criteria for selection nominally would be left with the individual service, in the event of disputes between them only the Defense Department could resolve the issue.

The key word became "commonality." The concept was certainly not new. Basically, it called for an aircraft that could be used by all services but for various purposes, thereby saving on production costs. It was certainly a logical premise. It would do away with differing research and development phases, reduce the per-unit production costs, save on parts and simplify maintenance training programs.

Obviously, sacrifices would have to be made by each service to achieve commonality, which was a term of only relative meaning. No one expected the same exact model to be of use to all services. But the more commonality, the less acceptable was the aircraft to the individual service. As a result, the original specifications of each service had to be compromised in order to achieve a significant degree of commonality. In the final analysis, the Defense Department decided what was acceptable, reducing the specifications to a degree that made everyone unhappy.

Much criticism has been heaped on the "Whiz Kids" and on systems analysis in the choice of the weapons system. But Dr. Alain Enthoven, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Systems Analysis, testified before a congressional committee last year that systems analysis was never applied to the F-111, or TFX as it was then known. This makes the DOD decision hard to understand in anything but political terms.

In the TFX controversy, it soon became apparent that there was substantial congressional interest. There were those congressmen who defended the Defense Department's decision to award the contract to General Dynamics, a Texas firm, and its prime subcontractor for the Navy, Grumman Aircraft of New York. Another faction mobilized to attack the decision. At least one of these members, Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, a Democrat, had a substantial constituent interest in having had the contract awarded to Boeing Aircraft, the losing bidder, with headquarters in Seattle. Among the attacking group, a number of congressmen seemed to have no direct constituent interest. This did not mean that they were completely impartial or that they would not reap other political rewards for their actions.

The leader of the attacking forces was Sen. John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas. As chairman of the subcommittee on investigations of the Committee on

Government Operations, McClellan in 1962 began looking into the contract award. The immediate reaction of the Defense Department was to charge constituent interest. McClellan was quick to counter this type of attack. He summoned Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, before the subcommittee and Sylvester was forced to apologize. The Defense Department had made a tactical error. A short time later, Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric was called to testify. McClellan quickly put the Deputy Secretary on the defensive by indicating that, prior to his present tour of government service, Gilpatric had been a partner in the law firm which had represented General Dynamics.

McClellan proved a tenacious opponent. Strategically, he chose as his allies the military services which were dissatisfied with the compromise weapons system they had been forced to accept. Each service felt that its independence had been put in serious jeopardy. Unable to resolve the conflict within the Defense Department by exerting pressure on Secretary McNamara, the military apparently decided to go outside the executive department to its natural ally, the Congress. The military was caught, however, in the usual dilemma: Any resort to Congress would appear as an act of insubordination. Executive civilian control of the military was a principle that could not be easily surmounted. The tactic chosen was to cooperate with the investigating committee.

The committee was careful to extend its investigation not only to the awarding of the contract but also to the relative merits of the competing designs submitted by General Dynamics and Boeing Aircraft. This gave the senior military officers an opportunity to voice their complaints on the quality of the aircraft itself, something they could not otherwise do openly. The committee made it clear that it felt true and complete answers from the military were necessary. McNamara understood that he could not claim executive privilege and at the same time expect appropriations for the TFX. But he did exert what pressure was available to him in order to keep the military in line. He maintained, on the surface, that they were free to speak. Through the years that the controversy has raged, however, McNamara's repeated statements on the right of the military to speak freely were often not in line with reality. As late as Nov. 12, 1967, the American Broadcasting Company's science editor, Jules Bergman, noted that all sources of information were not open to him — and that those sources that were open were monitored by the Defense Department.

Not all congressmen were hostile. Sen. John Tower, a Texas Republican, and Sen. Jacob Javits, a New York Republican, for example, inserted a number of

STANLEY JAROLEM teaches political science at C. W. Post College on Long Island; DANIEL KAHN is an assistant editor at Newsday.

articles favorable to the TFX in the *Congressional Record*. Their constituent interest was obvious. On the whole, public reporting was critical of the decision and McClellan was careful to use this as ammunition against the Defense Department. From the beginning, it was clear that both the military and the investigating committee wanted not only to void the contract but also to dispose of Secretary McNamara. But McNamara proved a worthy foe. He was adept at justifying his action and the characteristics of his aircraft. The decision of how to build it and who was to build it had been the product of McNamara and his "Whiz Kids." To many of the military, this was the vital question. Were the "Whiz Kids" with their civilian experience to replace the military in terms of weapons decisions? If so, the very autonomy of the services would be affected.

The original investigation eventually adjourned without a final report. Pressure from the White House apparently played a part in this. But the investigation did bring a number of facts to light. It demonstrated that Boeing's bid had been lower than General Dynamics'. It showed that evaluations of the competing designs prior to the awarding of the contract were favorable to Boeing. The Air Force had always favored Boeing as a manufacturer. Each service had, through the years, developed favorite contractors.

It became clear that the entire decision was complex and that the figures given by both sides were tenuous and unreliable. In the numbers game, the Defense Department was by far the most agile even though its accuracy left something to be desired. The hearing also demonstrated that any congressional committee lacks the resources to present an adequate case against highly specialized personnel. At a number of points during the proceedings, the Defense Department appeared to be intentionally confusing the committee with terminology that could not be easily comprehended by the committee or its staff. Despite this, McClellan eventually established that there were some questionable areas in the department's methods. Without the subtle cooperation of the military, it is doubtful that McClellan would have achieved even this degree of success.

The Senate hearings of 1963 had severe limitations. The Defense Department could describe in glowing terms the benefits of commonality and the savings to be realized. It could state that each service would eventually get a weapons system which would be suitable for its mission. But at some point, the department would have to demonstrate that system. Congress continued to have substantial control because it had to appropriate money for the continuance of the program.

The aircraft itself was having trouble getting off the ground. The most significant technical advance incorporated into the design is the variable wing. This permits the aircraft to fully extend the wings on take-off, creating greater lift and allowing the use of short fields. Once in the air, the plane may sweep back its wings, allowing greater speed. This feature originally was described as the most difficult to design. It proved much less of a problem than many other features.

The original Air Force version was to achieve Mach 2.5 (1,650 mph). It can do only Mach 2.2. Its ferry range is roughly 1,000 miles short. Its speed brake does not operate correctly, limiting its capability as a dogfighter. It cannot turn tightly. It was designed to have a dash distance of 400 miles—that is, dropping down on the deck and flying at supersonic speeds under enemy radar. Although the figures on actual performance are classified, it apparently can fly only 50 to 100 miles on the deck. When fully armed with conventional bombs, it weighs close to 90,000 pounds, about 20,000 pounds overweight. The aircraft suffers from compressor stall at high speeds. The drag ratio is much higher than expected.

It is generally conceded that the F-111 is an excellent small nuclear bomber, but its utility ends there. The original engine was underpowered, but this has been at least partially remedied by a new engine—the cost of which is under investigation as being too high. Because of the additional weight, greater fuel capacity was needed and greater fuel consumption experienced, limiting the range. The craft's altitude when fully armed falls short of original specifications by more than 10,000 feet—one estimate places the armed altitude at about 14,000 feet. The avionics are sophisticated, however, and permit the aircraft to fly a land profile automatically and at supersonic speeds.

The Navy version has experienced a great deal more difficulty than the Air Force model. The overweight problem is severe to the point of making carrier service doubtful. Three separate weight-reducing programs have failed to bring the weight into line with specifications, and further efforts have been abandoned. Its lack of fighter characteristics has reduced the plane to a missile-launching platform. The Navy has conceded that the fighter will need a fighter to protect it. Early designs had called for the craft to carry 12 missiles, but there is evidence that the armaments will be reduced to six missiles because of the weight problem. Loiter time falls far short of specifications and is a grave shortcoming. Since the aircraft is not suitable as a true fighter, its combat utility ends with the launching of its missiles. A wind of 19 knots is needed fore to aft over the deck in order to launch the aircraft. This means that the carrier must move into the wind at that speed, greatly reducing the

ability of the carrier to maneuver at time of launch and recovery. The design had called for a wind over the deck of minus eight knots. Of the 24 catapults on the larger carriers, the F-111B's afterburners can be used on only seven. The older class of carriers is totally unsuited for the plane. The number of planes that each carrier can utilize has been sharply reduced because of the weight and size of the plane.

The production models of the Air Force plane have begun coming off the line. The production line is moving along at the rate of one a week; 10 a week expected by July. The Navy plane, if it ever does become operational, will be at least three years late. Aircraft soon become obsolete and the time lag has seriously reduced the amount of time that the plane can be of any service. From the beginning, the Defense Department has misled both the public and Congress as to the time of readiness and capability. The first Navy F-111B came off the line at Grumman Aircraft on May 11, 1965. There was a great deal of publicity but the aircraft was really a wired-up model consisting of many F-111A parts. In November of 1967, the president of General Dynamics said that the plane originally called for had been impossible to produce. He did not explain why General Dynamics had signed the contract if it felt it could not deliver. Grumman had doubted its ability to deliver the subcontracted Navy model and had informed both General Dynamics and the Defense Department. It made suggestions for a new design but was overruled. Air Force test pilots have indicated that the aircraft has a number of very good qualities and the Defense Department utilized the favorable parts of their reports to influence both the public and Congress. They failed to publish those parts of the reports which were highly critical.

There have been international complications as well. Great Britain had agreed to purchase 50 F-111s, over the objections of senior British officers. As the troubles with the F-111 mounted, some Englishmen complained that McNamara was not quite truthful when he sold the craft to Great Britain. In any event, Britain canceled its billion-dollar order in January as part of its drive for national solvency; Australia is still a customer with 24 modified F-111As ordered.

The original cost of 1,700 F-111s was calculated at \$5.8 billion. It is now estimated that 1,300 F-111s will cost \$12.8 billion. It is difficult to determine true cost. The figures given by the antagonists differ greatly. The F-111A was to cost about \$2.8 million per plane. It is generally agreed that this version will cost at least \$6 million per plane. The Navy F-111B will cost at least \$8 million per plane, assuming it ever goes into production. Perhaps even the Defense Department has no solid figures. Certainly, however, its

information is far superior to Congress's. Testimony before Congress by Defense Department experts appears to be deliberately vague in this area. It is evident that McNamara's prediction of a one-billion-dollar-saving to be achieved by commonality was wholly inaccurate. Highly convincing at the time, it is merely embarrassing today.

The gravity of the F-111 program is not only the failure to produce the aircraft specified, but also that serious questions are raised with reference to the use — or non-use — of systems analysis. It seems clear now that a rather subtle attempt was made to justify the original decision of design and contractor on the basis of sophisticated calculations. It is now equally clear that under the guise of using these sophisticated calculations some other method, yet unknown, was utilized to make the decision.

The Defense Department, insisting on commonality, overruled the military. The result has been an aircraft that satisfies no service and is, to date, wholly unsuitable for the Navy. Cost was apparently a major factor in McNamara's decision, but the plane has not saved money nor can money sufficiently improve its performances. Commonality has been virtually given up with reference to this plane, but there was no admission of this by McNamara. Perhaps more disturbing was the refusal of the Secretary to admit error. It is generally conceded that a new plane will be necessary to perform some of the functions intended to be performed by the F-111. At this time, there has been no decision to build such a plane, although the Navy disclosed in January that design plans have been submitted by Grumman Aircraft, McDonnell-Douglas Corp., Ling-Temco-Vought and North American Aviation. The proposed craft would utilize most of the basic F-111B components, such as the engine, missile capacity and variable sweep wing. The final decision on whether to cancel the F-111B probably will have to be made by newly appointed Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, who assumed his post March 1.

There is no doubt that the Defense Department has attempted to withhold the problems of the craft from general view. There is also little doubt that some versions of the aircraft can perform adequately but far below specifications. The reasons for awarding the contract to General Dynamics are still not clear, and it's likely to be some time before sufficient information becomes available to explain what actually has taken place. It is clear, however, that no public relations campaign on the part of the Defense Department and General Dynamics can hide the fact that the plane produced had serious defects. Four of the controversial fighter-bombers crashed in this country on test flights. Two have been lost over North Vietnam and Cambodia. There are still six based in Thailand.



Activism Can Be Fun

Jean-Luc Godard's new film is called *La Chinoise*, but the Chinese girl of the title is French: a Parisian student named Veronique who is devoted to Mao and Red Guardism and thus is not only anti-capitalist but anti the French Communist Party and the Soviet Union. She shares an apartment with her lover and another young couple and an extra man, all of whom

La Chinoise
(Leacock Pennebaker)

also share her views. The extra man is named Kirillov, but *The Possessed* has been used as a launching pad, not as a model. To Godard's credit, he understands that Dostoevsky sees the buffoonery in his serious characters. This buffoonery suits Godard's familiar methods; and his characters' ideas, highly debatable though they are, at least give *La Chinoise* a unity that is rare for him.

Godard plays. That is the only way he knows how to be serious. (In principle, a wonderful gift.) He plays with almost every conceivable cinematic device. He plays with the world's literature. (There is the usual welter of references to authors, and Veronique's lover is named Guillaume Meister – an actor, of course.) He plays with art. (Picasso is invoked with a bull's head made of a bicycle seat and handlebars.) He plays with suicide. (Kirillov – naturally – shoots himself as if his death were only an incidental footnote in his life.) He plays with murder. (Veronique kills the wrong Soviet embassy official, then, as if she had for-

gotten her gloves, goes back and kills the right one.)

And he plays with politics. His characters use it as sport, as sexual arena, as décor (literally – the walls are painted with Maoist slogans, the shelves are pretty with dozens of little red books), as a verbal football in consciously useless debate. They walk around reading Mao aloud like monks with Scripture. Al Carmines, the minister-composer at the Judson Church in New York, recently wrote a one-act "opera" on Mao's sayings that used this phenomenon better. Carmines' musical settings understood what the maxims say but also understood the pleasure – the diversion – of incantation. Godard's characters seem to think they are engaged in political action when they walk around the apartment reading; and although he thinks there is some amusement in his revolutionaries, he is certainly not satirizing them.

There are only patches of story in the film, and those patches are left shredded. (What happens to Veronique after her killings?) Structurally, it cannot be discussed in conventional terms, only in terms of *jeux d'esprit*. Often the *jeux* do have *esprit*: of youthful spontaneity and non sequitur, of "inside" cinema references along with nose-thumbing at the canons of cinema, of a "straight" young-love scene (Veronique and Guillaume and a record-player) or of an equally conventional "student" scene. (One couple is sleeping in bed, the other couple on chairs, while the radio blares the *Internationale*; Kirillov walks across the bed, picks up the radio, walks back across the bed and out, while the two couples do not stir.) And throughout there is striking color. Raoul Coutard, the photographer on all but one of Godard's pictures, has framed these people against great plaques of red and blue and white (flag colors) and has transformed shot after shot into posters.

Some of the performers are taking. Jean-Pierre Léaud, who was the child in Truffaut's *Four Hundred Blows* (1959) and graduated to Godard's *Masculine Feminine* (1966), plays Guillaume with a nice fiery scruffiness. Michel Semeniako plays the other male lover, who is "expelled" for re-

visionism, with a homely, sad self-reliance. Godard, as he has done before, also uses an actual personage: in this case Francis Jeanson, the noted radical writer and teacher, who is very agreeable and who has a long conversation with Veronique – nicely shot on a suburban train that stops every twenty seconds or so. The conversation has a feeling of mutual respect and mutual pathos, because he cannot convince her that isolated terroristic acts are futile and she cannot convince him that, for her, futility is not necessarily a deterrent. The one weak member of the cast is Veronique herself, played by the latest Mrs. Godard, Anne Wiazemsky, whose acting ability is not apparent and who resembles a depressed goldfish.

But if *La Chinoise* is one of Godard's more organic films, it is still faulty and reprehensible, in terms of what it does and – eventually – what it says. (And if we are told that the two matters are inseparable, this really does reduce Godard's politics to a game – merely an occasion for style.)

Take it first purely as film. Despite all the high-spirited high jinks and the glints of charm, the net effect is somewhat cold. In *The Married Woman* Godard chose the subject of sex and rendered it as a lovely, absolutely unerotic, marmoreal ballet. Here he treats the fuming of young activists in such a disjointed and fragmented way that we observe, rather than empathize; we watch for the next bit of horseplay, as at a madcap vaudeville. His own cleverness, up to the split second though it may be, intervenes. The beetle-on-a-pin feeling is heightened, rather than otherwise, by those fake *cinéma-vérité* interviews that Godard likes. He puts his actors against a wall, one at a time, then asks them questions (his voice barely audible) which they answer in character. The first few times he used this device in his pictures, it seemed to promise greater immediacy, a broadening of his characters almost in an essay-like way. Now the novelty has worn off, and we are conscious only of his intrusion into the life of the characters, his insistence on branding them and his work with a trademark.

(Continued on page 39)

Richard Gilman BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Nat Turner Revisited

The column which follows, a critique of William Styron's "The Confessions of Nat Turner," seems to me to be related to the pieces on Negro writing which I've recently published in these pages. This is my main excuse for returning to a book which C. Vann Woodward has already reviewed in *The New Republic* (October 7, 1967); though I also believe that when any journal has published a review of any particular book, this needn't be the last word which it should be permitted to say on it. There are, it should be clear, different points of view on literary and cultural matters, which a magazine like this one is certainly broad enough to contain. In any case, without wishing to stretch connections or force parallels, I think that Styron's book, and its public career, have a good deal to tell us about what Negroes and whites are actually thinking about one another. That the book also seems to me to exemplify certain central literary issues and problems is, however, enough of a reason for wanting to write about it.

Publishing history has to be made before literary history can begin, but one doesn't necessarily follow on the other. It would surely have been better for William Styron, as an artist, had he been less well known, less professionally involved in great publishing expectations, when *The Confessions of Nat Turner* made its appearance among us. Had he been freer from the institutional condition of so many well-known American writers, free from their imposed fate as at least nominal trustees of literary values which have almost no public literary uses, only ideological, psychic and commercial ones, he might have had the detachment to see his book more nearly for what it is and his possibilities as a novelist might thereby have been better served. For Styron is a talented writer, but one whose

ambitions have always exceeded his gifts; and the great acclaim for *Nat Turner*, which is a less than noteworthy literary accomplishment, can only do him injury, I think.

That acclaim can do injury is no new theme in American cultural history. But as personality continues to diminish the area of impersonal values, in art as well as politics, we need to go on reminding ourselves of it. We need, too, to go on reminding ourselves of how culture is becoming more and more a question of power, not of values, or rather of how power, regarded as the supreme value, has made culture increasingly a pragmatic affair. The relevance of this to *Nat Turner*, is that the book was immediately swept up into areas of power and influence wholly outside its existence as literature, and, even more crucially, before such existence could even be brought into question.

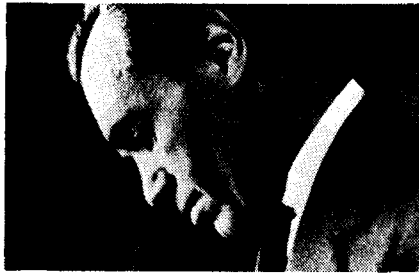
The book had a life laid out for it in advance. It was expected to be "big," a "major achievement," an inspiring national document, a quasi-religious act. And it has been fought over in those terms. It is all part, I think, of the curious overvaluation of literature in an age which for the most part dislikes literature and makes less and less effort to find out what it is. Styron is an unwitting accomplice in this double game. Though one can be certain he didn't set out coldly and with calculation to write a "great" book that would traduce literature, he was in a fine position to do it. His whole career has indicated that he is the kind of writer for whom largeness of "subject" is a guarantor of literary achievement, and for whom the taking of literary risk—sans imposing subject, sans reliance on the tradition, sans extraliterary alliances—the dangerous effort to fashion new instrumentalities of consciousness, has never played a measurable role.

His books have therefore been "big,"

but he has never advanced the art of fiction or even vigorously helped sustain it, while never, it also has to be said, corrupting it either. But I think that with a "subject" such as *Nat Turner*, an imaginative occasion or proposal of that kind, you either advance fictional art or set it back. It wasn't the same in this case for Styron as with *Lie Down in Darkness*, a novel which did little more than perpetuate a convention—that of doomed, neurotic Southern passion—though it did it rather well; if you are going to try to imagine yourself into an alien phenomenon, into a new tradition, so to speak, then you are going to have to find new literary means. You aren't going to get away, from the judgment of literature at least (Styron is of course more than in the clear before other, less rigorous tribunals), on the plea of having done something socially significant.

This "important" act has been, it's clear, the validation for white readers (the book has also, of course, a handful of Negro admirers) not so much of any particular attitude toward Negroes but of our seriousness towards them, of the fact, rather, that we can be serious about them, can use our skills and imaginative prowess to try to understand what it might be like to be black, to live under slavery, to be *the other*. And if Styron had succeeded in this attempt at understanding, this miraculous transposition, then the opposition to the book on the ground of its historical inaccuracy—the heart of the widespread Negro protest against it—would seem to have little standing. But I don't think Styron has succeeded, which is why although I sympathize with the Negro protest and believe most of it more than understandable, I think it wrongly directed, aimed at a symptom rather than a cause.

For *Nat Turner* seems to me a mediocre novel, not a beautiful or even well-written work of fiction which happens to contain historical inaccuracies or perversions of histori-

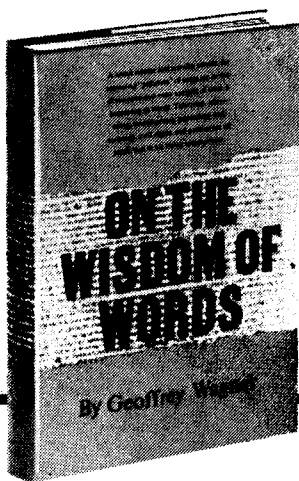


**Geoffrey
Wagner**

ON THE WISDOM OF WORDS

Geoffrey Wagner, author of more than twenty books and Consultant to Hayakawa's *Language in Thought and Action*, comes to the defense of words. In the face of mounting McLuhanism, political doubletalk, and unthink, he believes that language is still an important form of human communication. This vivacious, learned book is his standard, his call to arms.

ON THE WISDOM OF WORDS has the entertaining yet fundamentally serious quality of *Games People Play*. It will appeal to a wide range of word-lovers who view the future of the word with much misgiving. \$6.75



**Van
Nostrand**
120 Alexander Street
Princeton, N.J. 08540

cal truth. And it is just the wide acceptance by Negro critics of the book of the prevailing white literary opinion, the judgment that *Nat Turner* is triumphant precisely as literature (for Negroes a corollary judgment follows: that literature can be a devilish weapon) that so seriously undermines the efficacy if not the justice of their protest.

For if the book is a literary triumph, then its conquest is all that matters; nobody not directly affected by them is going to care very much about historical inaccuracies, since isn't art always its own justification and what in any case can we really know about history except by way of efforts like Styron's? A literary triumph, power, the juggernaut of success; and something more: the remaining prestige of literature, a prestige that has almost nothing to do any longer with intrinsic virtue or efficacy but is like the emanation from a titular monarch in a nostalgic parliamentary democracy. All this, and the opaque, mysterious outlines of history dissolve so that the past comes into line with what some of us want to feel now.

That is to say, the prestige of literature has been used to get around history's obduracy, its refusal to allow its facts to constitute meaning; but the imagination, which only respects facts as grist, remains insouciant. In this way the historical Nat Turner can be used by whites, as the protagonist of a new drama, which may or may not be patronizing to Negroes or subversive of their truth but is in any case comforting to us. At the same time, because literature's prestige is felt by Negroes, too, it becomes the instigation for a violent effort to repudiate Styron's newly shaped myth and put another in its place: that of Nat Turner's nobility, grandeur, his representative existence as spearhead of Negro consciousness, as exemplar of clear, clean, undeviating urgency towards liberation. It is as though another novel, by someone with Styron's reputed skill of course, in which Nat Turner is portrayed heroically, self-confidently, in line with present-day Negro ideas about what they themselves are, or should be, is what is painfully craved.

But we cannot tree history through literature and bring it down to go on

any leash; we can't know *the truth* about Nat Turner through the imagination, but only such imaginative truths as Nat Turner, as any historical personage, might perhaps inspire. It is a mark of that overvaluation of literature coupled with a distrust of what it can really do which I mentioned before, that we go on believing in the power of fiction (or any kind of imaginative writing) to wrest secrets and intimate meanings from history. The irony of the debate over the novel's historical truth is that it cannot either be validated or discredited that way. For the point (which has to be made again and again in this age of utilitarian sensibility) is that literature, as literature, has nothing to do with history, other than being able to draw upon it as it is free to draw upon anything.

The novel, for example, is the record of the imagination in prose forms, not a series of reflections or enhancements or interpretations of what has actually, physically, morally or even psychically happened in the world, or even what has been thought about that. If anything, literature, like all art, is the account of what history has failed to produce on its own, so that men have to step in to make good the deficiency. From this point of view Styron is entirely justified in his claim that he has not sought to reproduce history but to "meditate" on it, such meditation being part of the process of making good its deficiencies through art. History, as that which has existed outside the imagination, the sum of all that has actually happened (art happens virtually), demands of men that they find other ways besides literature by which to get at its "real" or intrinsic truths.

We would be in a much better position to experience *Nat Turner* instead of using it for one or another kind of corroboration if we understood that in meditating on history Styron has sought to use it and not simply recapitulate it, to find a springboard in it for his true novelist's work, which is to create something that history has thus far not contained. It is, in fact, anything but extreme to say that insofar as he was trying to do a novelist's work he had no essential interest in history at all, no interest, at any rate, that can begin to account

for the work or for the kind of energies that went into it.

Startling as it may sound, I think that Styron compromised and fatally injured his book by choosing a Negro for his protagonist. The one critic who, to my knowledge, has seen that the novel is not centrally about Negro reality at all is my colleague Stanley Kauffmann, whose extremely perceptive essay in the current *Hudson Review* points out how *Nat Turner* is in no real sense "historical" fiction of the kind we are familiar with (such fiction, if it works as literature, has, I might add, no more connection with history than the wish to use it as pretext) but fiction with a tragic and religious impulse and ambition, and how in failing to realize its ambitions it ends in almost full literary failure.

It may not be any comfort to those Negroes for whom the book is a willed and outrageous perversion of their past and Styron a conscious racist, but that fact that his unrealized ambitions were of the kind described by Kauffmann means that we are freer to address ourselves to his project in literature where, as I've said, the book must rest or fall.

The novel's main themes or impulses, as they can be distinguished from its narrative line, have to do with an opposition between Old and New Testament values and moralities—"savagery and revenge" vs "charity and brotherhood," as Styron has himself described it, as well as with a conflict between an intense desire for spiritual purity and absolute service of the Lord and a sensuality irreligious and even blasphemous in its implications, and, still more centrally, one between ardent faith and thoroughgoing doubt.

What is hoped for, what a novel on such themes might conceivably attain, is an imaginative act of resolution wherein these contrarities might be transcended, or, more satisfyingly, be held in a tension which is itself new vision. And the astonishing thing is how few critics and readers have been able to see that Styron has failed to bring anything like this off. For his contrarities never clash, his opposing thematic forces never engage one another. At every moment when a religious drama might take shape the novelistic energy is shifted to a mere

narrative of events, a "story" whose own constituents, whatever their original existence as facts, are the stuff of melodrama. As Kauffmann writes, "The central defect of the book is that Styron has written a novel about a religious agonist without fulfilling—in any way he might have chosen—the religious agony."

That the book hasn't been seen as a failed religious drama is due of course—unless we are to postulate mass incompetence, epidemic illiteracy on the part of critics and readers—to the fact that people have strenuously wanted to see it as something else. They have wanted to see it, whites and Negroes alike, as a novel about a black man, about slavery and rebellion against slavery, and they have wanted to see this kind of novel, for reasons I've touched on, as constituting a document, a manifesto, a statement backed by the prestige of literature, with immediate social and political consequences. To wish to see any work of imaginative literature this way is to make it highly unlikely that what the imagination has actually done is going to be seen or recognized.

I said before that I think Styron's choice of a Negro for his protagonist was fatal to his deeper purpose. The point is that for this purpose the protagonist did not have to be a Negro and his being one in fact introduces all sorts of distractions and irrelevancies into the book. For there is nothing in Turner's Negroity that accounts for his religious fanaticism or even provides it with a basis, unless that might be the clichéd notion that oppressed and enslaved people might naturally turn to God. And there is a great deal in Styron's character being Negro that works against any successful imaginative appropriation of what being Negro is.

Thus when Nat thinks, after listening to the indictment of his actions by his atheist lawyer Gray, "Maybe he is right . . . maybe all was for nothing, maybe worse than nothing, and all I've done was evil in the sight of God. Maybe he is right and God is dead and gone, which is why I can no longer reach Him"—we are in the presence of ideas and implications which are, to say the least, more suggestive of contemporary, white, death-of-God theological

Holiday IN Italy?

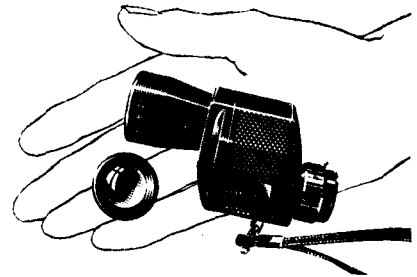
● Now's the time to make sure you have everything you need for the best trip possible—like a dictionary of useful words and phrases . . . a walking map of Rome . . . tips on what to do and see both on and off the beaten track . . . and up-to-the-minute information on how to get around and where to stay, eat, and shop.

Now here's good news. You can get all these things (and much, much more) in one pocket-size book—the completely revised **1968 HOLIDAY MAGAZINE TRAVEL GUIDE TO ITALY**. It costs only \$1.65. *Saturday Review* calls it "the biggest pocketful of information you can buy."

P.S. There's a *Holiday Travel Guide* for virtually every vacation area of the world. They must be good. Over a million copies have been sold!

Now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE 

Hold The World In Your Palm...with



M. V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM \$16.95

So startlingly different are the design and performance of the M.V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM that you won't really believe it until you see it and use it yourself. ■ With its standard objective the M.V. is an 8x, wide-angle (8.2°), 24mm monocular telescope—more powerful than most field glasses and binoculars. For an even larger field, just quick-change objectives and you have a 6x, super-wide-angle (11°), 18mm telescope. ■ The prismatic, fully coated optics are of the same uncompromising quality that you expect from the finest Japanese cameras—crispness, brilliance and complete planarity. ■ As an added bonus, the objectives may be used as 3x and 5x wide-field magnifier/loupes, of uncalled definition and clarity. ■ Weight 3¼ ozs., length only 3½". Comes with handstrap and soft, flat, zippered case that fits snugly in gentleman's pocket or lady's purse.

☐ Send the MIYAUCHI M.V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM w/case & exchange objectives. Satisfaction, or refund guaranteed. Check for \$16.95 plus \$1 for post. & ins. encl. (Calif. resid. add 5% tax.)

Name _____

Address _____

Zip _____

584 Washington St.,
San Francisco, 94111

TNR 0427

(415) 981-5688

haverhill's

controversies than of anything having to do with being Negro or with slavery *circa* 1830.

Again, what has being Negro have to do with the following reflection of Nat's: ". . . think what an obstacle would be set in my path toward spiritual perfection if I should ever have any commerce with a *woman*! Difficult as it might become, I must bend every effort toward purity of mind and body so as to unloose my thoughts in the direction of theological studies and Christian preaching." One might say, but no, what are you thinking, surely a Negro might have that kind of hang-up, might find sex and religious vocation at odds. Of course, but Styron isn't supposed to be writing about such a Negro, one who *could be anything*, but about Nat Turner, a slave, a man whose only reality in our imagination is as a slave and the leader of a slave revolt. And here the perversion of history—there is no shred of evidence that Turner had any such problems or was even troubled by sexual desire; he was in fact married, which Styron ignores—can be seen as the result of aesthetic

confusion and not as wilful calumny.

The misleading dilemmas, misleading because they aren't the dilemmas that being a Negro or a slave might conceivably pose, but the dilemmas proper to a certain kind of religious fanaticism; the misleading psychology, misleading because, again, Styron hasn't made a reading of Negro or slave mentality but only of a religious fanatic who happens to be Negro; the misleading tensions, misleading because they are never pertinent to the principal narrative and never embodied in relevant actions—all this exhibits the fatal internal contradictions that bring *Nat Turner* to its knees as fiction.

But there is internal evidence of a more significant kind. In the very quality of the writing, its fundamental tones, prescriptions, choices and aspirations, the book continuously reveals its failure as literature of a high order, or rather, its existence in all but a few moments as literature of a false order.

To begin with, there is the matter of the book's kinds of speech. Kauffmann has pointed out how the dominant tone of elevated, biblically-

oriented utterance is mostly unconvincing, smacking of authorship, how Nat's internal speech, his thoughts, clashes with his matter-of-fact dialogue, and how there is something egregiously false about the sudden appearance, in a context of heavily formal and lofty speech, of such modern colloquialisms as "Hot damn . . . don't shit me . . . I fix yo' preacher ass . . . I knock you to yo' fuckin' black knees."

But beyond this there is a whole range of simply inadequate or inferior writing. There are the clichés of Negro thinking or of thinking about Negroes:

"A Negro's most cherished possession is the drab, neutral cloak of anonymity he can manage to gather around himself, allowing him to merge faceless and nameless with the common swarm. . . ."

"Though it is a painful fact that most Negroes are hopelessly docile, many of them are filled with fury, and the unctuous coating of flattery which surrounds and encases that fury is but a form of self-preservation."

There are the clichés or banalities of thinking or feeling in general:

"Prayer again hovered at the margin of my consciousness, prowling there restlessly like some great grey cat yearning for entry into my mind."

"All I could feel was despair, despair so sickening that I thought it might drive me mad, except that it somehow lay deeper than madness."

"I sink away into some strange dream filled with inchoate promise and a voiceless, hovering joy."

And finally, most decisively I think, there are the clichés of *novel-writing*, the inherited procedures and ritualistic activities which Styron cannot rid himself of, though to jettison them—especially with such a subject—might have made it possible for the book to have been something new and alive to the imagination. Kauffmann refers

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PEACE CORPS

told with refreshing candor and biting humor by a volunteer who went into the Peace Corps with high hopes and came out with this revealing account of Peace Corps training—

HIGH RISK/HIGH GAIN

BY ALAN WEISS

"This autobiographical book about a personal experience of Peace Corps training is dynamite. . . . Weiss is a stunning new writer, articulate, earthy, and with a stinging wit."

—Publishers' Weekly \$5.95

ST. MARTIN'S

Stories of an
entirely new kind
are being
written for
today's children
and LIPPINCOTT
brings them
to you.

Children are not what they
used to be...and neither
are children's books

Today's children really are different: more aware, more knowledgeable, less kiddable. Lippincott is keeping up with them, producing books that encourage the natural inquisitiveness of childhood... that deal honestly with real issues. Books that take children seriously, in fact, as readers and as people. Here are a few of them. We think these stories and your children deserve each other.

By John Rowe
Townsend

GOOD-BYE TO THE JUNGLE

Set in an English slum — the Jungle — this story is about four children whose irresponsible elders leave them to fend for themselves. "For its genuine dialogue and total honesty, this book deserves extra praise."

—N.Y. Times Book Review
Ages 12 up \$3.75

PIRATE'S ISLAND

The author sets two children "an impossible task — to find adventure in the grey and leaden world of a poor and hopeless neighborhood. They find it, and the reader, too, will find adventure and that bright jewel, hope."

—Publishers' Weekly
Ages 9-12 \$3.75

By Vera and
Bill Cleaver
ELLEN GRAE

Illus. by ELLEN RASKIN. A wildly imaginative ten-year-old girl learns a frightening secret and must cope with it as best she can. "The writing is excellent and its combination of comedy, near-tragedy, and suspense are rare in juvenile fiction." —Starred review, *School Library Journal* Ages 9-11 \$2.95

By Nina Bawden
THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER

Blind Janey, her brother Tim and a lonely orphan named Perdita tangle with jewel thieves on a Scottish island. "As gripping as the story of Tom and Huck hiding from Injun Joe." —N.Y. *Times Book Review* Ages 9-11 \$3.39

A HANDFUL OF THIEVES

Fred and his friends decide that the only way they can recover Gran's missing money is to steal it back from the thief. "A rollicking, fast-moving and altogether delightful adventure." —*Children's Book World, Chicago Tribune* Ages 9-11 \$3.39

By Jeannette Eyerly
DROP-OUT

Two unhappy teen-agers drop out of school, elope, and come close to tragedy in this timely novel. "The gradual disintegration of teenage hopes and romantic ideas is painfully realistic... No pat ending here either."

—*Library Journal* Ages 12 up \$3.25

THE GIRL INSIDE

Shortly after her parents' death, Christina tries to take her own life. This sympathetic novel follows the emotionally disturbed girl's gradual recovery and the understanding people who help her. Ages 12 up \$3.95

LIPPINCOTT

National Library Week is April 21-27

USE THIS CONVENIENT RETURN PRIVILEGE COUPON

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY, East Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

NR

Please send me at once postpaid the books I have checked on this coupon. Unless completely satisfied I may return any books within 10 days for immediate refund. (Add state sales tax)

I enclose \$_____ ☐ check ☐ M.O.

- | | |
|---|--------|
| ☐ GOOD-BYE TO THE JUNGLE | \$3.75 |
| ☐ PIRATE'S ISLAND | \$3.75 |
| ☐ ELLEN GRAE | \$2.95 |
| ☐ THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER | \$3.39 |
| ☐ A HANDFUL OF THIEVES | \$3.39 |
| ☐ DROP-OUT | \$3.25 |
| ☐ THE GIRL INSIDE | \$3.95 |

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

NEW DIRECTIONS

**Edward Dahlberg**

THE EDWARD DAHLBERG READER. An anthology of excerpts from his major books, and letters.

\$6.50; Paper, \$3.25

Robert Duncan

BENDING THE BOW. All his poetry since *Roots and Branches*.

\$5; Paper, \$2.25

Thomas Merton

CABLES TO THE ACE. A long poem with striking irony.

\$3.75; Paper, \$1.25

Yukio Mishima

CONFESSIONS OF A MASK. The development of a homosexual — told without sensationalism or self pity.

Paper, \$1.85

New Directions 20

An anthology of new writing. "... the standard is universally high." — *Publishers' Weekly*.

\$5; Paper \$1.95

George Oppen

OF BEING NUMEROUS. A new collection of poetry by the author of *This in Which*.

\$4.25; Paper, \$1.45

Ezra Pound

LITERARY ESSAYS. Edited, with an introduction, by T. S. Eliot.

Paper, \$3.25

Kenneth Rexroth

COLLECTED SHORTER POEMS. "Like Whitman, Rexroth is a poet of cosmic consciousness..." — Stephen Stepanchev (*The New Leader*).

\$7.50; Paper, \$2.25

Gary Snyder

THE BACK COUNTRY. "Poems full of spice, fire, movement and joy." — *Richard Eberhart*.

\$4; Paper, \$1.25

Send for Complete Catalog

NEW DIRECTIONS
333 6th Ave.,
N.Y. 10014

to them as "padding," and though they can be seen that way I think they are something more damaging, something at the heart of Styron's failure and not at its periphery. They have to do with transitions, integumentary passages and even more with descriptions, physical setting and atmosphere — all the elements which a novelist of a conventional kind thinks indispensable but which literally tell us nothing.

The verisimilitude for which Styron has been so much praised, his apparent rendering of the very sights, sounds and smells of Virginia in the early 19th century, seems to me a supererogatory and even inimical work to his main imaginative purpose. And at this point it scarcely matters whether we want to regard that as the writing of a tragic spiritual drama or as an attempt to know what being Negro is like.

For this whole physical construction, this thick detail, this "sensitivity" to nature and lyric evocation of place, is all irrelevant to Nat Turner as a fictional creation, has nothing to do with his conflicts or hopes or fears, with his position within the field of fictional energies.

Above all it has nothing to do with the moral or existential meanings which presumably Styron is pursuing: landscape, weather, sounds, all exist for their own sakes, as in a travel book whose author has no interest in anything but letting us know what it feels like to be somewhere. But Styron has set out to let us know what it feels like to be *someone*, and what are we to do, Negro or white, slave or free, with all these evocations which tell us only that we are somewhere (and somewhere not even in the present) and don't even inform us of what we feel about it:

"Above the river and the swamp beyond, a white rack of cloud hovered, covering the heavens, impermeable, its surface crawling with blackened streaks of mist like tattered shawls."

"Far off the mill groaned, a muffled watery rushing and mumbling. The light here was diaphanous, the air warm and drowsy, astir with darting buggy shapes and the chattering of birds."

The book is filled with this sort of thing, which isn't even interesting in its own right. That a cloud is like a tattered shawl, that the light is diaphanous, that, in another passage, a bobcat's scream is "like the sound of claws scraped . . . across the bare face of the heavens" — what do these things do for fictional reality? What they do, the reason they're there, is to attempt to convince us, by their mere presence, of the novel's authenticity, of its being grounded in something real. But fictional reality is established, never more so than at present when the apparatus of verisimilitude has been seen to be, in Nathalie Sarraute's phrase, "useless trappings," only by what is pertinent to the effort to bring into existence a new imaginative fact. To create a landscape and a weather for Nat Turner, without bringing him into any new relationship with them, is merely to write, to be an author, to engage in novelistic practises that have no relevance.

On one or two occasions Styron's writing does become relevant, moves to establish a new imaginative fact, and in doing this achieves temporarily the thing for which the whole book has been praised. Passages such as the following do indeed establish the condition of knowing what it might be like to have been a Negro slave:

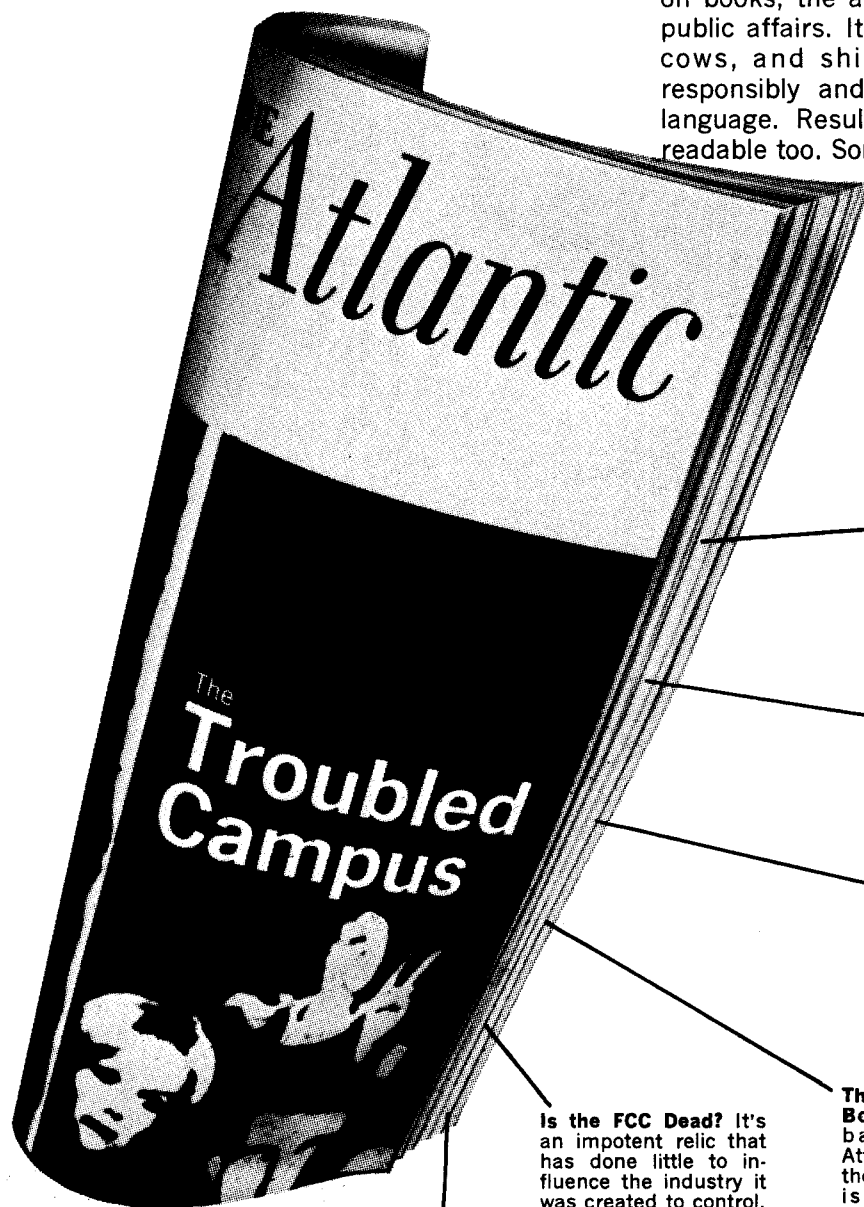
"The white faces, viewed for the first time so closely — especially those of the females, only lightly touched by sun and weather — have the sheen and consistency of sour dough or the soft underbellies of mushrooms; their blue eyes glint boldly, startling as ice, and I regard each yawning pore, each freckle, with the awe of total discovery."

"... her voice, gentle and indulgent as it descends from the rare white prodigious atmosphere above me..."

They indicate what Styron is capable of, but they are extremely rare; I've quoted half the ones I was able to find. With a persistency that is a function of his aesthetic confusion Styron shuts off these kinds of fictional investigations before they can go far enough

Troubleshooter.

The New Atlantic takes the trouble to seek out real issues and relevant subjects for its articles on books, the arts, and the broad stream of public affairs. It takes on deceptions, sacred cows, and shibboleths in every field — responsibly and truthfully and with love for language. Result: a serious magazine that's readable too. Some recent examples:



America's Catholic Bishops: they have too much power, says Daniel Callahan in a provocative Atlantic article.

Death at an Early Age: we're murdering the minds of Negro children in ghetto schools, writes teacher Jonathan Kozol.

The White Northerner: he bitterly envies the Negroes as "teacher's pets" of press and government, reports psychiatrist Robert Coles.

The Labyrinth in Foggy Bottom: former ambassador William Attwood charges that the State Department is neglected and demoralized.

Is the FCC Dead? It's an impotent relic that has done little to influence the industry it was created to control, says Elizabeth Brenner Drew. Is it time for something better?

Capitol Hill's Ugliness Club: does a lobby inside Congress guarantee architectural ugliness on the Hill? asks Hunter Lewis.

Moneysaver.

The new Atlantic is yours at half price.

Subscribe today, and we'll send you eight issues at half price — just \$2.84. Mail the coupon now.

THE ATLANTIC, Dept. Z-90
8 Arlington St., Boston, Mass. 02116

Please enter my half-price trial subscription to The Atlantic for 8 months and bill me for \$2.84.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ REMITTANCE ENCLOSED

☐ BILL ME LATER

Ready in April, 1968



Edited by Stuart Levine
and Nancy Lurie
LC:67-24839 Cloth — 12.00

Illustrations, Map, Photographs

The American Indian—his public and private life—his past and present—city and reservation life—by American Studies and Anthropology scholars.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Stuart Levine

The Survival of Indian Identity
THE BACKGROUND

Nancy Oestreich Lurie

Historical Background

Elizabeth Clark Rosenthal

Culture and the American Indian
Community

CURRENT TENDENCIES

Shirley Hill Witt

Nationalistic Trends Among
American Indians

Robert K. Thomas

Pan-Indianism

CASES IN POINT

Harriet J. Kupferer

The Isolated Eastern Cherokee

Carol K. Racblin

Tight Shoe Night: Oklahoma
Indians Today

James A. Clifton

Factional Conflict and the Indian
Community: The Prairie Potawatomi Case

Ann Fischer

History and Current Status of the
Houma Indians

Deward E. Walker, Jr.

Some Limitations of the Renaissance
Concept in Acculturation:
The Nez Perce Case

Rosalie and Murray Wax

Indian Education For What?

Henry F. Dobyns

Therapeutic Experience of Responsible
Democracy

APPENDIX

Nancy Oestreich Lurie

An American Indian Renaissance?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX



EVERETT/EDWARDS, Inc.
133 SOUTH PECAN AVENUE
DELAND, FLORIDA 32720
PUBLISHERS OF SIGNIFICANT
EDUCATIONAL BOOKS

to lead him into a new kind of novel and returns to the conventional procedures and styles of vision with which he is most comfortable.

Some years ago Richard Wright wrote of Gertrude Stein's *Melanctha* that it was "the first long serious literary treatment of Negro life in the United States," and that it was her "struggling words" that "made the speech of the [Negro] people around me vivid." Wright went on to describe how he "gathered a group of semi-literate Negro stockyard workers" in order to test the novel's authenticity and how they "understood every word," and sat there "enthralled."

That Negroes today aren't enthralled by *Nat Turner* isn't necessarily a fatal judgment on it. The point, however, is that anyone who continues to

be enthralled by Gertrude Stein's book will understand that she was able to imagine herself into a Negro character because, in the first place, she didn't set that as her aim, and in the second place because she was able to find new literary means to establish her intentions. *Melanctha* contains almost no descriptions, no novelistic integuments, no "atmosphere" and no evocations of anything beyond itself. Besides this, it is an extremely "small" book, a quiet effort of "struggling words," the furthest thing from a statement. It remains a novel that demonstrates as *Nat Turner* also does in its exemplary failure, how the imagination can only serve history, which is to say, us, by doing its own very different, compensatory and atoning work.

Issue versus Image

by Patrick Anderson

Gene Wyckoff, a writer and producer of television films, foresees in the ever-increasing use of TV propaganda a proliferation of "image candidates." In a sense, his book's protagonist is Ronald Reagan, whom he terms "the purest image candidate on the American scene" and thus a very real prospect for the Presidency. Serge Lang's protagonist is a different sort of Cali-

ing to take hard political questions to the people for decision.

Although he is gloomy about television's impact on politics, Wyckoff devotes much of his book to an engaging recitation of his "adventures as an image specialist." Cheerfully cynical, he tells how in 1960 he was called upon to spice up one of Richard Nixon's campaign films, a dull illustrated lecture. To give it drama and movement, Wyckoff first borrowed an opening scene from one of Hitler's propaganda films ("... clouds, banks of majestic cumulus clouds rolling toward the audience, washing over them, detaching them from all reality . . . an airplane suddenly slashes through the clouds, the sunlight flashing on its wings. . ."). Next, to break up the monotonous scenes of Nixon handshaking in foreign lands, he lifted—from a Jerry Lewis film called "Geisha Boy"—some stock footage of an Air Force transport slashing through the clouds. Wyckoff immodestly admits that the result convinced most who saw it that Nixon was a great man. However, there weren't enough viewers to matter, for just as the film was ready for an election-eve, prime-time, national television showing, Nixon

The Image Candidates
American Politics in the
Age of Television
by Gene Wyckoff
(Macmillan; \$6.95)
The Scheer Campaign
by Serge Lang
(Benjamin; \$3.95)

fornia politician: Robert Scheer, the *Ramparts* editor who sought the Democratic nomination for Congress in the Berkeley-Oakland district two years ago on a "radical" anti-war, anti-Johnson platform and received 45 percent of the votes against the liberal incumbent, Jeffrey Cohelan. Implicit in *The Scheer Campaign* is a belief that the political future will belong not to image candidates, but to issue-oriented men like Scheer who are will-

APRIL 27, 1968

scratched it in favor of one last, personal appeal to the voters. With that decision, Wyckoff believes, he booted the Presidency.

What the television viewer hears, Wyckoff says, is infinitely less important than what he sees, so that the worst mistake a candidate can make is to stand before the camera and "talk to the people." The average candidate would be better off letting the image-makers produce campaign films that present him as an exciting, larger-than-life figure. The reason for this is that most Americans have been so brainwashed by television drama that they instinctively match political candidates with the good guy/bad guy stereotypes with which they're familiar. In this way, he says, New York's 1961 Democratic mayoralty primary shaped up as: "MAYOR BOB, sincere, bumbling but affable incumbent, steadfastly strives to save City Hall from LEVITT, acid-tongued henchman of DE SAPIO, powerful political boss." Since no candidate can avoid being type-cast, Wyckoff says, he had better make use of paid TV commercials to transform himself into an appealing character.

He believes Abe Beame, the quiet little Brooklyn accountant, could have defeated John Lindsay in 1965 if Beame's managers had 1) concealed the real Beame, 2) created a new one via television films, 3) taken advantage of the Democrats' two-to-one voter majority by putting party loyalty, not Beame, at the campaign's center. And he cites Nelson Rockefeller's 1966 television offensive, which minimized Rockefeller personally and made the most of his administration's good works, as a brilliant instance of a candidate staying off-camera and letting the image-makers do a job.

The greatest challenge to Wyckoff's talents came when he was hired to prepare a film to bolster William Scranton's eleventh-hour attempt to wrest the Republican nomination from Barry Goldwater in 1964. Wyckoff hastened to the Scranton estate, there to discover that his leading man was an affable blue-blood who had been successively dominated by his mother and his wife, and was hopelessly miscast as Prince Valiant. Thus, the image-maker mused:

"All I could do was make sure that he did not appear in his informal



Hunger is one meal a day

CHUNG JIN SOOK, KOREAN, AGE 7. One of five children. Father dead. Typhus. Mother does odd jobs. Earns about \$5 per month. Must resort to begging food for children. One meal a day. Boiled barley or noodles. Children always hungry. Home is a hut. Roof oiled paper. Walls straw bags and paper boxes. Winter's bitter. Rain and snow leak through roof. Family destitute. Mother desperate for children she cannot feed, clothe, and shelter adequately. Help to Jin Sook means help to entire family.

Thousands of children as needy as Jin Sook anxiously await "adoption" by you or your group. Choose a boy or girl from Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador or Peru. A monthly cash grant helps provide primary school education for your Foster Child and his sisters and brothers. In addition, PLAN gives family counseling, medical care when called for, supplementary new clothing and household equipment. PLAN's emphasis on education helps its children to become self-supporting citizens. Since 1937, more than 110,000 children have "graduated" from PLAN's program. You receive a case history and photograph. Each month you write and receive a letter (original and translation). These letters will tell you how your "adoption" benefits the entire family. Soon, through the regular letters and PLAN progress reports, you and your child develop a warm, loving relationship.

CHECK YOUR CHARITY! We eagerly offer our financial statement upon request. You will see that your contribution *truly benefits* the child for which it was intended.

PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, independent relief organization, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the Agency for International Development.

© Foster Parents Plan, Inc. 1968

Foster Parents Plan, Inc.

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 — Founded 1937

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS AND FOSTER PARENTS

Steve Allen
Sen. Paul H. Douglas
Helen Hayes
Conrad N. Hilton
Sen. Jacob K. Javits
Sen. Robert F. Kennedy
Art Linkletter
Amb. & Mrs.
Henry Cabot Lodge
Garry Moore
Sen. William Proxmire
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Mr. & Mrs.
Robert W. Sarnoff
Gov. & Mrs.
William W. Scranton
Sen. John G. Tower

FOSTER PARENTS PLAN, INC.

NR-4-68

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010
In Canada: P. O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex _____, age _____, nationality _____.

I will pay \$15 a month for one year or more (\$180 per year).

Payment will be monthly (), quarterly (), semi-annually (), annually ().

I enclose herewith my first payment \$ _____.

B. I cannot "adopt" a child but I would like to help a child by contributing \$ _____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Date _____ Contributions are income tax deductible

ATTACH LABEL HERE

CHANGING ADDRESS?

Send both old and new addresses to
Subscription Department
The New Republic
381 West Center St., Marion, Ohio

Allow four weeks
for change to become effective

New Address

Name
Address
City
State Zip.....

**"The most important
documentary study on America's
participation in and responsibility
for the war in Vietnam."**

—HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

IN THE NAME OF AMERICA

A Study Commissioned and
Published by Clergy and Laymen
Concerned About Vietnam

"This book is a fundamental challenge to anyone, whatever his preconceptions about the American presence in Vietnam. The challenge is whether you can read it all the way through and still have any doubt as to the complicity of us all in war crimes in that country."—NAT HENTOFF

Cloth, \$4.95; Paper, \$2.95

At all bookstores or write direct
to Clergy and Laymen Concerned
About Vietnam, 475 Riverside
Drive, Room 547, New York 10027.

Distributed by
E. P. DUTTON & CO.

living room with that dominating portrait of the Duchess [Scranton's mother] or in any scene with his wife. Whatever scenes I constructed would have to underscore his masculinity. By process of elimination, the program construction gave him two key scenes to play: (1) early in the half-hour, alone in his study, Henry V alone in his tent on the eve of Agincourt delivering a soliloquy on bravery and courage and the dimensions of the coming battle; and (2) a closing scene of General Lee with his valiant young men in gray, inspiring them to make their suicide charge up Cemetery Ridge."

All this is good fun, and valuable too, for the insight it provides into the mind of the image-makers. I think Wyckoff is less persuasive when he peers into the future:

"American politics in the age of television will not decline with a bang, but a whimper, a subtle increase of incompetence in high places at crucial moments, a subtle corrosion of our government's traditional dedication to being representative of and responsive to a consensus of informed public opinion."

This is no year for wild optimism, but I can't agree that things are as ominous as that. Like many political technicians Wyckoff overrates the importance of his specialty. In the past decade or so we have passed through a transitional period in which, as Wyckoff says, some politicians (Reagan, Percy, Rockefeller, the Kennedys) more quickly grasped the possibility of television. But everyone is on to the game now, all candidates will be using dramatic, impressionistic films, and they will tend to cancel one another out. Indeed, the image-makers' art may help the good guys more than the bad. As Wyckoff says, Pat Brown could have beaten Reagan if he had run a more image-conscious campaign, and presumably the next Democrat to oppose Reagan will profit by Brown's mistakes.

I think too that Wyckoff underrates the degree to which images are based on political reality. The fact that

President Johnson was popular in 1964 and is unpopular today has little to do with image-making and everything to do with policy-making. Indeed, if Johnson were to have run and been defeated this year, television would have deserved much of the credit, for having so graphically brought the horror of Vietnam into so many homes. No matter how many self-serving campaign films the President might have commissioned, they wouldn't have been likely to offset the reality of the evening news show.

Robert Scheer's was an unusual race for Congress, and it has produced an unusual book. Its author, mathematician Serge Lang, was teaching at Berkeley that year and worked for Scheer. He has produced a sort of scrapbook of the campaign: about one quarter of it is Lang's own commentary, the remainder consists of campaign literature, speeches, newspaper editorials and the like. Obviously, such a book has limited appeal; yet it isn't without interest, for Scheer's campaign is highly relevant to the politics of 1968. Scheer got into the race because of his hatred of the war in Vietnam. As he saw it, Congressman Cohelan, despite his 95 percent rating from ADA, epitomized the dead-end of American liberalism; proud of his "effectiveness" as a Democratic stalwart, he had restricted himself to (in his own words) "a limited, but cautious and responsible anti-war position."

The fact that Scheer, running an aggressive, "radical" campaign—he called, among other things, for an immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and a \$3600 guaranteed income—could poll 45 percent of the votes, is proof that one need not be an "image candidate" to succeed in today's politics. For Scheer, although dynamic and an astute political strategist, was an image-maker's nightmare, a man who wanted to be listened to, not liked. He was too young (30), he had a beard, he wouldn't go on hand-shaking tours, and his campaign manager was

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Patrick Anderson is a political writer in Washington, D.C.

a communist. But Scheer found that when he talked against the war, people listened, not just intellectuals and the poor, but middle-class audiences as well. Scheer was a couple of years ahead of his time, but the national mood is catching up. If either Kennedy or McCarthy is elected, we are going to see more than a few issue-oriented men like Scheer in Congress and other posts, and it could be they, not the image candidates, who will set the tone of politics.

Koch's response and that of other middle-class youth meeting the "law" for the first time in draft strikes and other demonstrations may lead to further reform in arrest, investigative procedures and prison practices, for everyone. But if all it results in is his tearful plea, "don't touch us college folk, we're sacred," then there is still a long way to go for all of us, in the pursuit of happiness.

E. L. Levine
Washington, D. C.

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Authors' Request

Sirs:

To supplement the Newlon Papers in the University of Denver Library, and for a biography, we seek correspondence and reminiscences concerning Jesse Homer Newlon (1882-1941), influential figure in the Progressive Education movement as Denver School superintendent (1920-1927) and professor of educational administration, Teachers College, Columbia University (1927-1941).

Theodore R. Crane & Charles Angeletti
History Department, Univ. of Denver

"Busted"

Sirs:

"Busted" (March 23) makes an interesting equation of enforcing dope laws on a campus with fascism. It is true that much of this legislation and its enforcement mechanism is savagely inappropriate to the very real problem of youth and adults seeking that special freedom offered by *Brave New World*. However, what Stephen Koch seems to be saying is that enforcing laws on drugs on a campus, a "traditional preserve of middle-class non-conformism," is something more terrible than enforcing drug laws against poor whites and Negroes.

Space Travel

Sirs:

I do not particularly wish to represent the voice of the "traditionalists" who might lament the statistical enthusiasms of Louis Halle ("Why I'm for Space Exploration," April 6) as he rhapsodizes over the desirability of man's emerging from his terrestrial cocoon to discover a kind of intergalactic higher knowledge. Nor do I wish to argue with the mathematical soundness of distributing an individual's life-span over two million years and getting away with it in a relative sort of way. But I do find it ironic that Mr. Halle chooses to end his argument with a quote from Browning's "Johannes Agricola in Meditation," a poem which might fairly be summarized as a revelation of the heretical arguments of a religious fanatic, who, in Browning's view, carried the Antinomian doctrine of predestination to an absurdly untenable conclusion.

"Life, as we know it within the terms of our earthly prison," Mr. Halle states, "makes no ultimate sense that we can discover. . . ." It certainly won't get much clearer by heeding the rhetoric of a poem Browning later gathered in a group he called "Madhouse Cells."

Richard Schramm
Northridge, Calif.

Sirs:

Many a politician has appeared to find irritating the propensity of scientists to engage in politics, caustically suggesting that politics is an art best left to those who practice it. This point of view may be roundly disputed on the grounds that anyone sufficiently sensitive to the tides of public opinion

"No, Lyndon Johnson is not insane; he is merely a common Southern precinct militarist, perfectly willing and certifiably able to use militarism for anything from winning votes to exploiting the pork barrel to, if need be, blowing up half the world in cornpone pique."

The quote is from *The Accidental President* by Robert Sherrill, *The NATION's* Washington correspondent.

No President has ever so consistently misinformed the people. Refusal of another term cannot undo his record, nor should we react by condoning it.

It is vital in this election year to examine the record. The issues transcend the man.

"Sherrill has written a provocative, challenging book with damaging statements of fact," reports the authoritative *Saturday Review*, concluding: "The analysis is sharp and tough, as befits the situation."

The book is being discussed across the country in reviews like these: "Sherrill's documentation is impressive . . . The reader looks through a window usually barred except to members of the White House press corps or Washington insiders" (Ohio); ". . . a slugging summation of the American liberal's objections to L.B.J." (Virginia); ". . . a terrific haymaker right on the Presidential button" (Nebraska.)

If you believe as we do that the facts are vital to democratic discourse on the issues, why not subscribe now to *The NATION* and receive Robert Sherrill's *The Accidental President* as a free bonus?

The good fight is now in

NATION

—why not join now?

FREE OFFER with new 1 year subscriptions to **THE NATION**
333 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10014

☐ I'll join the good fight for 1 year (48 issues). I enclose \$10 and understand you'll send me **FREE** Robert Sherrill's *The Accidental President* (retail price \$5).

☐ I'll try you for half a year. I enclose \$6.

(Add \$1 postage for Canada, \$2 Foreign)

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

NR4-27

PACIFICATION ANYONE?

THE WASHINGTON PEACE CENTER IS WORKING TO WIN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE PEOPLE. By promoting films, literature and discussion in local churches, schools and civic groups, we hope to educate people to the roots of war and necessity for peace. Now of all times we need volunteers and contributions. WPC, Box B, 2111 Florida Ave., N.W., Wash., D. C. 20008.

I REQUIRE . . .**a "dating service" that**

- ☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
 - ☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
 - ☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
 - ☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants
- ☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE

MIND MATES

Bureau for Interpersonal Relations
509 Fifth Ave., New York, New York 10017
MU 2-3757



**PICASSO
DRAWINGS**

51 Illustrations-Color & Monochrome
At better bookstores...\$7.50

THE ULTIMATE IN ART BOOKS

**"Remarkably honest,
remarkably readable"**

—JAMES JONES



THE
Gunner

A novel by
WILLIAM STEVENS
\$5.95, now at your bookstore
Atheneum

can be a politician. On the other hand, the converse proposition (science is best left to scientists) seems to be a principle whose violation leads to disastrous consequences, an outstanding example of which can be seen in Louis Halle's article on space travel. ("Why I'm for Space Exploration," April 6). I have frequently tried to persuade myself that there are not two cultures, but in realistic moments I have to admit, much as I dislike the idea, that it just may be that there are. One thing at least is clear: those individuals who belong to the humanistic camp should not write about a scientific topic until they acquire a good understanding of it, an understanding which can be obtained by spending a little effort learning the ideas and principles involved. Granted, we scientists frequently use the unfamiliar vocabulary and shorthand of mathematics, which certainly makes communication more difficult. However, many renowned scientists have made and continue to make the attempt to communicate in ordinary language through books, magazine articles and lectures. The best method to attain knowledge is, of course, the opportunity to go to someone and ask questions, a form of communication which should be readily available to members of both cultures, but which, regrettably, all too often is not.

In any case, to say that the physics in Halle's article is just wrong is almost too kind; the basic misunderstandings are profound. For example, the fundamental principle, that the relative velocity between any two objects, which were once at rest with respect to each other, cannot exceed the velocity of light, is something no amount of sophistry can change. Whether or not the earth or anything else looks smaller or larger is beside the point. Of course, someday we may discover wholly new phenomena outside the compass of present theories which may allow us to travel faster than light. But such speculations would seem to be inappropriate for a journal which attempts to present analyses of the contemporary human condition, and are probably best confined to imaginative literature.

Michael Parkinson
Syracuse University

Tortoise or the Hare?

Sirs:

I have only one quarrel with Professor Cooper's recent article, "Monetary Gold: The Tortoise or the Hare?" (March 30). He notes that, "Failure by the United States to stabilize its economy through fiscal and monetary action exerts inflationary pressures on the rest of the world, pressures over which other countries have no direct control." Professor Cooper does not state whether this is an expression of his own opinion or a reiteration of the familiar French position on the US deficit.

In any case the last part of the quotation is incorrect, or at least misleading. It cannot be denied that the US deficit creates inflationary pressures in the surplus countries, assuming that they are already operating at full employment. These pressures are derived from the fact persons or firms in the surplus countries are accumulating dollars which they want to convert into their own currencies and spend. But these same pressures can be offset by the central bank reducing the rate of growth of domestically created assets so that the combination of the two is "just right." Hence the surplus countries are far from helpless in dealing with the effects of the US deficit. The present situation in the US balance of payments may be undesirable, but this contention will have to stand or fall on other arguments besides the one offered by Professor Cooper.

M.F.J. Prachowny
Kingston, Ontario

In reply . . .

Mr. Prachowny is quite correct in pointing out that European countries have at their disposal instruments of policy capable of offsetting the effects on their national economies of inflationary pressures coming from abroad. They can tighten credit to domestic businesses or they can raise taxes—actions that are not entirely costless to the governments that undertake them. My point was a different one, however: that apart from conversions into gold and moral suasion, the European countries have no way to influence the size of the inflationary pressures from abroad to which they

A special service for New Republic readers

THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOKSTALL

You can buy any or all of the books in the select group below at substantial savings. Minimum order \$5.00. Add 25c per order for postage and handling.

1. THE CONFESSIONS OF NAT TURNER by William Styron. In 1831 a revolt was led by a remarkable Negro preacher named Nat Turner, an educated slave who felt himself divinely ordained to annihilate all the white people in the region. The story is told by Nat Turner himself as he awaits his execution. Undoubtedly William Styron's finest novel.
Reg. price \$6.95 your price \$5.59

6. THE SENSE OF WONDER by Rachel Carson with photographs by Charles Pratt and others. "An eloquent plea for parents to rekindle their own feeling for nature and help children use all their senses as avenues of delight and discovery," says the N.Y. Times. Now in paperback.
Reg. price \$2.50 your price \$1.99

10. THE NEW YORK TIMES COOKBOOK, edited by Craig Claiborne. An excellent standard cookbook consisting of 1,500 recipes tested in The New York Times kitchen. It emphasizes international dishes but includes enough typical American ones. A superior production. Illustrated.
Reg. price \$9.95 your price \$7.95

15. THE PREVALENCE OF NONSENSE by Ashley Montague and Edward Darling. This is scholarship rolling a hoop, revealing the cheerful or sometimes ghastly truths by which we live. Here are the errors which mankind accepts as gospel. A droll book by an outstanding anthropologist and a witty satirist.
Reg. price \$5.95 your price \$4.75

19. THE LAWYERS by Martin Mayer. Here are lawyers of all kinds: criminal, divorce, corporate, county-seat prosecutors, civil rights, and judges. And here is a lucid exposition of the law they practice and how it got to be that way. This top-flight reporter tells about fees and what lawyers do for their money. He discusses the skill of the profession, often in the words of lawyers themselves. Actually, the book deals with the real workings of the society we live in.
Reg. price \$8.95 your price \$7.15

20. OUR CROWD: The Great Jewish Families of New York by Stephen Birmingham. A fascinating view of one of the richest segments of a rich city: Jewish upper-class life in New York—vibrant, exotic, romantic, special. Fifth Avenue mansions where 60 sat down to dinner attended by as many footmen, castles in Westchester, villas in New Jersey, private railway cars, vast art collections, millions given away quietly and uncounted. These are remarkable individuals of resplendent dynasties. A superb social history.
Reg. price \$8.95 your price \$7.15

24. ORBIT OF CHINA by Harrison Salisbury. This leading journalist traveled 25,000 miles seeking from peasants and princes the story of China: war or peace between China and America, the Indian-Chinese struggle, the Sino-Soviet conflict. This is a narrative of personal experience and penetrating analysis.
Reg. price \$4.95 your price \$3.95

28. THE NATURE OF HUMAN NATURE by Alex Comfort. Man's origins and recent social evolution are freshly explored by a scientist and poet who reveals the basic human drives that motivate us. Anthony Burgess compares the author to Machiavelli, Voltaire and Bernard Shaw.
Reg. price \$5.00 your price \$4.00

29. THE COLD WAR AS HISTORY by Louis J. Halle. George F. Kennan says Prof. Halle "has given us . . . a view on the cold war that will have a lasting effect on the treatment of the cold war in historical literature." The Washington Post recommends that this book be a must for everyone involved in international affairs.
Reg. price \$6.95 your price \$5.59

31. REPORT FROM IRON MOUNTAIN on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace. This highly controversial book has received wide coverage in magazines, newspapers and broadcasting. Some say it is a farce, others call it highly credible.
Reg. price \$5.00 your price \$3.95

35. LAST REFLECTIONS ON A WAR by Bernard B. Fall. A posthumous testament to the short, brilliant and fruitful life that the author deliberately and dangerously chose to dedicate to the Vietnamese people. Mr. Fall accurately described the problem of the communication between our culture and that of Vietnam. This book represents a total commitment to a vision of history and communication.
Reg. price \$4.95 your price \$3.95

43. THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE by John Kenneth Galbraith. A fresh and lucid view of economic society and the quality of modern life. The work of eight years, this fine book knits the great changes of the past 50 years into a complete and consistent view of modern industrial society.
Reg. price \$6.95 your price \$5.60

45. THE PUBLIC SPEAKER'S TREASURE CHEST by H. V. Prochnow. A compendium of source material to make your speech sparkle. 1,069 jokes, 539 witticisms and epigrams, 233 amusing definitions, 109 famous lives, 1,313 quotations, 319 similes, 174 colorful phrases, 299 Bible quotations, 350 proverbs, plus directions on preparing and delivering an interesting speech.
Reg. price \$5.95 your price \$4.85

46. EXPLORATIONS IN CREATIVITY edited by Ross Mooney (Ohio State University) and Taher Razik (State University of New York). What is the nature of creativity, and why is man creative? How is the creative person able to maintain a continuing flow of freshness and vitality? How does one nurture creativity? Can tests measure originality? Do our society and educational system support the creative person? What kind of home best encourages creativity?
Reg. price \$10.00 your price \$7.95

47. THE BLAST OF WAR by Harold Macmillan. "Mr. Macmillan's memoirs of the Second World War are the best to appear in the English language since Churchill's . . . Mr. Macmillan . . . possesses that sense of history which puts the present into perspective and illuminates the past."—The London Times.
Reg. price \$11.95 your price \$9.55

48. HOW CHILDREN LEARN by John Holt. In his best selling "How Children Fail" John Holt revealed the startling failure of children to develop their native capacity for learning and creating. In "How Children Learn" he proves that this failure can be eliminated, and he challenges the adult world to do something about it.
Reg. price \$4.95 your price \$3.95

49. HOW TO WRAP FIVE EGGS. Japanese Design in Traditional Packaging by Hideyuko Oka. This book is a totally unexpected monument to a culture, a way of life, a universal sensibility carried through all objects down to the smallest, most inconsequential and ephemeral things. A book of exceptional beauty with 222 black and white and color plates.
Reg. price \$15 your price \$12

50. THE NEW AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH by Louis Heren. 75 years after Lord Bryce's great work, comes this astute evaluation of our present political institutions and processes by an English observer who has long studied the American scene at first hand. Mr. Heren, Chief Washington Correspondent of the London Times, has produced a landmark achievement.
Reg. price \$7.95 your price \$6.35

51. THE WARS OF AMERICA by Robert Leckie. Here for the first time is a comprehensive narrative of all our wars—from the first shots at the Iroquois in 1609 to the present struggle in Vietnam. This book sheds light on the American character and how it has been shaped by violent struggle.
Reg. price \$11.95 your price \$9.55

52. THE FILM EXPERIENCE. Elements of Motion Picture Art by Roy Huss and Norman Silverstein. Here is a book which will broaden the moviegoer's perception so that he may fully realize the experience of watching a film. The work of Antonioni, Griffith, Fellini, Godard, Hitchcock, Eisenstein, Bunuel and others is treated at length.
Reg. price \$6.95 your price \$5.55

53. THE CONSUMERS UNION REPORT ON LIFE INSURANCE. A Guide to Planning and Buying the Protection You Need by the editors of Consumer Reports. The chances are that you are spending a substantial amount of money on life insurance and receiving inadequate protection for your family. Much of the nation's 17 billion dollar outlay for insurance is spent unwisely. This book provides a rational approach to the buying of life insurance.
Paperback.
Reg. price \$1.95 your price \$1.55

54. A READERS GUIDE TO MODERN MEDICINE by Dr. A. G. Dally. Hundreds of familiar medical terms are explained in this new and comprehensive account of all the functions and malfunctions of the human body. This wonderful book is organized for reading as well as a reference guide for every layman.
Reg. price \$5.95 your price \$4.75

55. THE NEW INDIANS by Stan Steiner. An Indian "uprising"—ideological, social, legal, political—is underway on the reservations. The "New Indians", college-educated, but contemptuous of industrial civilization and filled with a growing anger, are on the move. "Red Power" is their cry.
Reg. price \$7.95 your price \$6.35

56. COMPARATIVE GUIDE TO AMERICAN COLLEGES 1968 Editions by James Cass and Max Birnbaum. Recognized as the best college guide on the market—over 150,000 copies sold in the first two editions—this now becomes the most up-to-date as well.
Paperback.
Reg. price \$4.95 your price \$3.95

57. THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN. Gesell.
Reg. price \$6.95 your price \$5.55

58. YOUTH: The Years from Ten to Sixteen. Gesell.
Reg. price \$6.95 your price \$5.55

59. MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE IN DIGEST FORM: First series. Edited by Frank N. Magill. Short readable summaries of over 500 of the world's best novels, plays, tales and epics. Sequence by sequence plots and discussions.
Reg. price \$9.95 your price \$7.95

60. MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE IN DIGEST FORM: Second Series.
Reg. price \$9.95 your price \$7.95

61. MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE IN DIGEST FORM: Third Series.
Reg. price \$9.95 your price \$7.95

MINIMUM ORDER \$5.00

THE BOOKSTALL

P. O. Box 7796

Benjamin Franklin Station

Washington, D. C. 20044

TNR042768

Please send the books whose numbers I have circled below.

1	6	10	15	19	20	24	28	29
31	35	43	45	46	47	48		
49	50	51	52	53	54			
55	56	57	58	59	60	61		

I enclose \$....., plus 25c postage and handling.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS

255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, Calif. 91105

INTEGRATED HOUSING AS AN INVESTMENT

M-REIT  **MUTUAL
REAL ESTATE
INVESTMENT TRUST**

Objective: to invest in income-producing real estate in good neighborhoods and offer housing to all.

► Send for free prospectus.

Morris Milgram NR 4-27
Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust
30 East 42 St., New York 10017

Name _____

Address _____

Zip _____

This advertisement is not an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy these securities. The offering is made only by prospectus.

Salasacan tapestries
hand-knit sweaters
filigree jewelry
Cabuya handbags
Indian smocks

... just a few of the fine
handcrafted products avail-
able from

andean
box 472 • cuenca, ecuador

FIFTY YEARS TO ATHEISM

Hayward A. Williams

\$2.95 at your bookstore or

VANTAGE PRESS, INC.
120 W. 31st St., N.Y.C. 10001

AUTHORS OF BOOKS

Manuscripts invited for our consideration. All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors welcome. Complete book publishing services since 1920.

Send for free brochure H-52. ►
DORRANCE & COMPANY, INC.
1809 Callowhill St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19130



have to respond, not that they have no ways to respond to such pressures.

Richard N. Cooper
Yale University

Mayor Daley's Command

Sirs:

Mayor Daley's order to shoot to kill arsonists and maim or cripple looters is at its best an accurate measure of the confused fear and defensive hostility that animates a great portion of residential Chicago. By spanning the separation that necessarily exists between executive and judicial government, Daley's command comes as a shrouded prophet. Issued at a time when Chicago is frantic to find a "solution," such a judgment can do little more than bolster and justify the anger and fear that has been the by-product of Chicago's long history of racial separation. That a policeman should be given no alternative but to execute the frustrated and cripple alienated seems an omen much more dubious than book burning.

John R. Spiteri
Chicago, Ill.

Highway Safety

Sirs:

In the March 23 issue, there was an article ("Bureaucracy and Highway Safety") concerning the island guard highway barrier and discussing the difficulties that have been encountered in installing this particular device on New Jersey's highways. In it, Daniel Posin, Jr. concluded that "people are killed every week" because Henry Such Smith's barrier "has been cast aside by a state administrative structure that cannot or will not respond to outside innovation."

It is true that this Department has not been able to reach an agreement concerning the use of this barrier that satisfies Mr. Smith, who holds patents upon it. As Commissioner, I have indicated that we are prepared to test this barrier on New Jersey's highways at locations that are mutually agreeable to both Mr. Smith and this Department, provided it is installed by regular contractors under ordinary competitive bidding procedures. Mr.

Smith has insisted that the barrier be installed in only one specific location and that he personally undertake to construct the barrier in this location.

If this invention has even a small degree of the potential ascribed to it by Mr. Posin, it will have to be capable of installation in many different locations and it will have to be installed by contractors in the regular course of business. I do not believe, therefore, that the minimum standards that this Department is establishing for the installation of this patented device are unreasonable.

It should be noted, however, that the State of New Jersey has not been waiting for Mr. Smith's device in order to move affirmatively with regard to the problems caused by undivided highways. We believe that the existing concrete barrier now in use in New Jersey is an excellent safety device which has, in fact, tended to eliminate the problem of the head-on collision that existed on highways which are travelled as extensively as New Jersey's. There is nothing to indicate at this time that Mr. Smith's barrier is superior to what is now in operation on our roads. . . . However . . . we have indicated a willingness to consider Mr. Smith's invention on the terms that I have indicated.

It is relatively simple to criticize public officials for their narrowness of vision. I would point out, however, that Mr. Smith's device has been in existence for many years. In addition, Mr. Smith obviously is quite capable of articulating the advantages of his invention. Despite the suggested advantages of this device, it has been installed in only a single location in the United States and this installation occurred approximately ten years ago. The failure of Mr. Smith to reach an agreement with any of the 50 states or any of the political subdivisions or autonomous toll authorities during the last ten years, cannot be explained simply by the failure of state administrators to be responsive to innovation.

David J. Goldberg
Commissioner of Transportation
Trenton, N. J.

In reply . . .

The Isle-Guard has received enthusiastic praise from such traffic safety

experts as Fletcher Platt, Ford Motor Company; Kenneth A. Stonex, chief safety engineer for General Motors; and Robert A. Wolf, Head of the Transportation Research Department of the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory. All of these men underwent demonstration crashes into the barrier.

Mr. Smith's demands may be difficult, but the New Jersey Department is permitted by statute to waive its "minimum standards" and not require that the barrier be installed by "regular contractors under ordinary bidding procedures." It was precisely this lack of flexibility on the part of state highway departments that I criticized.

The existing New Jersey barrier eliminates head-on crashes, but its high-friction concrete surface *causes* many other kinds of accidents—vehicles either crack up on the barrier itself or spin back out into a collision. The Isle-Guard, however, has a smooth steel surface which guides the tires of side-swiping vehicles back into the flow of traffic without any spin-out, slow-down, or damage to the vehicle. Thus it has had a stunning record of preventing accidents in its one place of installation—the narrow and heavily travelled Willis Avenue Bridge in New York City.

New York State, as well as New Jersey, has excluded the Isle-Guard from research studies of highway barrier design. The American Association of State Highway Officials, the Bureau of Public Roads, and other organizations concerned with highway safety have failed to encourage the use of this remarkable invention. This indicates a stiff resistance on the part of the highway safety establishment to outside inventions, which is causing untold highway deaths.

Daniel Posin, Jr.
Washington, D.C.

Kauffmann, from page 22

Out of all the rest of the incessant barrage of devices, look at one more. Godard frequently reminds us that this is a film. Before some shots we see the clapperboard marking the take; sometimes the actors address the camera; sometimes we even see the camera, with Coutard behind it. When Richard Lester's actors in *How I Won the War* acknowledged that they were

in a film, Lester was telling us something about entrapment, about roles forced on us by the juggernaut of social forms and human stupidity. With Godard it is only heel-kicking. The heels do kick; but is that enough?

One incidental note. All through the film he cuts in swift shots of American comic-book heroes as icons of contemporary violence. The rabid pro-Americanism of young French artists and intellectuals in the '50s has now turned to rabid anti-Americanism. But the subjects at issue are *exactly* the same: comic-books, gangsterism, toughness. Vietnam (and possibly Kennedy's murder) turned the abstraction of American violence into a reality. When it was only a game, French youth liked it; but not now. The lesson seems to have been lost on this film's young political activists.

Which leads to the second principal matter—what the film says. In the dialogue with Jeanson, Veronique tells him that she wants to blow up the university or the Louvre as an act of protest, and he tries to dissuade her. She reminds him of his opposition to the Algerian war and how he suffered for it; he reminds *her* that this was not an isolated act of self-gratification. He makes no impression on her. For her, politics remains personal thrill, romance, vengeance.

I wish I could believe that Godard was commenting on her views and those of her friends, that he was saying by implication: "Reading Mao bravely in a Paris apartment—or an American dormitory—is great defiant fun, but it is cheap fun. To take it as more than fun either shows a failure of imagination or a dogged romanticism that wastes potentially useful radical energy. And if you tell me—even tell me seriously—that to live under Maoism would be no worse than the way things are now, my reply would be, Why bother? All that turmoil just to establish a different Establishment?"

Or, failing that, I wish I could believe that Godard is a committed Maoist; it would at least give the picture an internal validity. But the impression grows and persists that Godard is congenitally a bootlicker of young boots. When he made *Breathless* almost ten years ago, postwar nihilism

was "in" with youth, so it was "in" with him; *Breathless* was nihilistic. (It was his first film, and it seemed a personal statement.) Today the cognate youth-group is politically activist, so *La Chinoise* is Maoist.

I do not suggest that Godard is forbidden to change or that he should distort the current state of society or should abandon his interest in youth—which is really his only interest. But from the course of his work one may deduce a consistent belief: Young equals Good, Older equals Bad. This simplistic tenet—held by some of the Older, too—is particularly disquieting in *La Chinoise* because of its subject. Many of us agree that the world is desperate for social change, for radical shifts in values, but not all of us think that the Maoist "solution" is glamorous. In any event, it is not a subject that can be fulfilled in play or in charm—even in Godard's somewhat frigid charm. Either *La Chinoise* is fundamentally serious or it is an inconsequential *divertissement* on a serious theme. If the latter, it is irresponsible; if the former, it is glib.

At one point Guillaume acts out the story of a Chinese Maoist (in Moscow, I think it was) who appeared before the press with his face wrapped in a towel and complained of a beating. He slowly unwrapped the towel (as Guillaume does) while he talked, revealing at last an unharmed face. The reporters were confused; but Guillaume explains to us that it was wonderful political theatre. It is momentarily effective; but very soon the juvenility of the Maoist action and of Guillaume's endorsement (via Godard) seems trifling. The scene epitomizes the film.

PERSONALS

McCARTHY NEEDS YOUR HELP. Send contributions, large or small, to McCarthy-for-President, 815 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

BUTTONS, PEACE JEWELRY, POSTCARDS, POSTERS, psychedelia, etc. Off beat merchandise. Wholesale to all. 10c brings our unique catalogue air mail. FREE SPEECH INC., 28 St. Marks Place., NYC 10003.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. No computers used. For FREE analytical questionnaire write: Dept. E., OPERATION MAZELTOV, 550 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10036. (PL 7-3638).

KENNEDY BUMPER STICKER (Removable). 2/\$1.00. Usen Enterprises, Box 3471, Glendale, California 91201.

IF YOU BELONG TO THAT NEGLECTED AGE GROUP, 40-60, and if you live in the NYC area, and if you are occasionally lonesome and would enjoy intelligent stimulating companionship, write to TWOgether Associates, Dept. NR, 38 East 57 St., New York City.

WHO NEEDS IT? Independent study? Personal freedom? A chance to help make a new kind of college work? If you need it, write Admissions, NR, Franconia College, Franconia, N. H. 03580.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566N, Ojai, California 93023.

SNOOPY FOR PRESIDENT - 249 other underground buttons. 1/25c, 5/\$1, 50/\$5, 125 \$10 and 1,000/\$75. Free catalogue to all. Free sample to stores. A Big-Little Store, 1671 Washington, San Francisco 94109.

COMPUTER DATING SERVICE for single adults. Send for free brochure. COMPUTADATE, P.O. Box 20-N, Peabody, Mass. 01960.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHT MACHINE - Assembles in minutes with under ten dollars of easily obtainable parts. Send \$1.00 for instructions, drawing, to Carelton Co., 237 Delancy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will Forms and attorney's informative book, \$1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

"WALLACE FER PRESADINT," "Soul-Brother Symposium," "Amalgamated Plagiarists," "Anarchy Foundation" and 6 additional irreverent letterheads with envelopes, \$1.00. 25 different, \$2.00. Knippenstammer, Box 6802, Cleveland, Ohio.

"McCARTHY IN '68", "Reagan & Lassie in '68", "Dump Johnson in '68", "LBJ for Ex-President", "RFK in '68", "The Governor of Alabama is a Mother", "Draft Beer, Not Students", "Kill for Peace", "Stop the War", "Ban Napalm", "Give LBJ the Bird", "Make Love Not War", "Studying Causes Cancer", "Legalize Pot", "Incest Begins at Home", "Chaste Makes Waste", "Dracula Sucks", "Bumper Sticker", "Make War on Poverty, Not People", "Sex Before Finals", "Apple Pie Makes You Sterile", "Melt General Hershey". King-Size bumperstickers. 2/\$1, 5/\$2, 15/\$5. TOPP, P.O. Box 1802, Chicago, Illinois 60690.

"LBJ DARTBOARD GAME." A giant 14" solid cobra construction dartboard with LBJ as the target (or Reagan, Bobby Kennedy, Sigmund Freud, Nixon, Nasser, Wallace and De Gaulle) is yours for only \$4.50 postpaid. Three precision brass darts imported from England are included for your bull's eye accuracy. Send check or money order to: TOPP, P.O. Box 1802, Chicago, Illinois 60690.

SEARCHING? : : : : It's not enough to just "know thyself." COM/PAIR, the "People-Matching-People" of Princeton speed your search. It's a way to meet a truly interesting match. National, international clients. \$10 fee payable when you return questionnaire. Request free questionnaire from Com/Pair Systems, NR-27, 194 Nassau, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

MONEY - SPARE-TIME OPPORTUNITY. We pay cash for nothing but your opinions, written from home, about samples of our clients' products. Nothing to sell, canvass or learn. NO SKILLS; NO EXPERIENCE. Just honesty. Details from: RESEARCH 669, Mineola, N. Y. 11501. Dept. GW-21.

THE WORLD FUTURE SOCIETY has come far since Andrew Kopkind reported its formation in "The Future-Planners" (NR, Feb. 25, 1967). Members receive THE FUTURIST, a bimonthly reporting scientists' forecasts for coming decades. Membership or subscription: \$5 yearly. World Future Society, P.O. Box 19285-NR, Washington, D.C. 20036.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 8-5, 79 Wall Street, NYC.

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STICKERS, Custom-made, low-cost advertising for Organizations, Special Events, Political Campaigns, Slogans, School Projects, Business, Theatrical Productions, Tourist Attractions, Motels, Resorts, and Drive-Ins. Write for Free Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please State Intended Use. Reflective Advertising, Inc., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

INTERESTED IN LIFE? Believe men should live each day to the fullest? So do humanists. For information, write: Dept. NR-1, American Humanist Association, 125 El Camino del Mar, San Francisco, Calif. 94121.

"McCARTHY FOR PRESIDENT": Sweatshirts (S, M, L) \$5.00; Posters, \$2.00; Bumper Stickers 2/\$1.00. Box 13, Mt. Sinai, N.Y. 11766 (Checks payable to "Cash")

SEE YOUR NAME, address, zip code printed in dark blue on 100 5 1/2 x 6 3/4 sheets; 50 matching envelopes. Expensive white rag bond paper. Only \$2.95 postpaid. 3 sets (each printed to order) \$8.00. Makes ideal gift for loved one. Jacques Stationery Co., Dept. NR, 310 East 25th St., New York, N. Y. 10010.

"FOUR WILL FORMS" and Lawyer's Guide to Wills. \$1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90048.

TAKE A POSITION - Wear the peace dove. Neat, discreet, quality 3/4" pin. White enamel on gold for man or woman. \$1.50. Quantity prices available. Peace Pins, 161 Grandview Ave., Monsey, N.Y. 10952.

ARE BOTH COMMUNISTS AND CRUSADERS secretly working for the War Corporation? "Prospectus for the War Corporation" is yours for 25c and your address sent to: P. O. Box 639, N.Y. 10009.

INSOMNIA? OVERWEIGHT? SMOKING? Do you have a personality problem? Shy? Under-achieving? Send \$1.00 for standard Hypnotizability Test Kit. SELF-REALIZATION CENTER, Box 393-B, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

"PROTEST WITH DISTINCTION"; Controversial underground bumper stickers. Free list: Dealers inquire. SNICKER STICKERS, Box 4243, Hollywood, Florida 33023.

LITERATURE

SOCIALIST BOOKS - Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

YOU SHOULD READ: "THE CONSCIENCE OF A RADICAL" by Scott Nearing. Sent postpaid, \$2 clothbound or \$1 paperback. Social Science Institute, Harborside, Maine 04642.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 8632N Eliot Ave., Rego Park 11374, New York City.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS - All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

RACISM-Philadelphia's Main Line, 36-page photographic essay, pamphlet \$1.00. Mouban Publications, 630 Timber Lane, Devon, Penna. 19333.

THE CATHOLIC PRESIDENT, Church/State Separation and the Kennedys, \$1.00. Griffith, Box 307, Boston, 02101.

FROM PEKING & HANOI: Mao Tse-tung's "Quotations" and "On People's War," both famous little red books for \$1.00. Ho-Chi-Minh's "Prison Diary," 75c. Subscription to Peking Review, 52 weeks, air, \$4.00. Subscription to Vietnam Courier, 26 weeks, \$5.00. Payment with order to CHINA BOOKS, Dept. NR, 2929-24th St., San Francisco 94110. FREE CATALOG.

EMPLOYMENT

TYPING from my home. Manuscripts; Dissertations; Theses; Reports; Addressing, etc. R. Gardner, 622 E. 89th St., Chicago, Ill. 60619.

GENERAL RESEARCH ASSIGNMENTS conducted by research specialist. Quick, accurate, reliable. Moderate rates. Lawrence Sork Jr., 239 South Bristol, Los Angeles, Calif. 90049.

TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS: The Abbott Teachers Agency has specialized for 50 years in educational placement: Private and Public Schools; Junior-Senior Colleges. Brochure on request. 120 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

COLLEGE ENGLISH TEACHER, man, 29, excellent references, B.A. Cornell, M.A. Columbia, desires changed situation, interesting work. Fine discriminating ability. Beginning September, 1968, New York City or vicinity. Box 2065, New Republic.

MALE, 31, COLUMBIA BA, MA; 2 years school psychologist affluent suburbia, 1 1/2 years poverty program Bedford Stuyvesant, seeks happy medium in less bureaucratic setting. Box 2075, New Republic.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. Unlimited opportunities. Latest Government Information and Forms. \$1.00. Austco, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach, California 90802.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities. Includes "Directory of American Companies Overseas," and special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send \$1.00, plus 50¢ postage/handling. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, N.Y. 11730.

OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIVIDUAL OR COUPLE interested in experimental enrichment program. Requisites are: primary concern with creative growth in young people; broad scientific interest; special interest in nature study, crafts, and wilderness education. Located in Monadnock Region, 60 miles from Boston. Write or phone Henry C. Patey, Director, Hampshire Country School, Rindge, New Hampshire. Phone (603) 899-3325.

SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

FOR STUDENTS 15-19. Special travel programs that emphasizes doing, rather than just sightseeing, and close contact with people of other lands. Travel with European teenagers and live with a European family; speak French in France all summer; visit a Soviet Youth Camp; study Spanish in Spain - or choose from varied list of trips planned to help you know a part of Europe well. For full catalogue write: George N. Shumlin, Director, The European Travel-Camp, Putney, Vermont 05346. (17th year.)

UNGRADED VERMONT DAY SCHOOL needs superteacher to create and carry out program for twenty children 6 to 11. Parents' co-op. Lovely country setting. Francis Fay, Plainfield, Vermont 05667.

ARTHUR MORGAN SCHOOL, Burnsville 2, N.C. Grades 7, 8 and 9. Co-educational, informal, non-competitive. Work-study program Liberal Quaker leadership.

VACATIONS/TRAVEL

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. \$1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

MINNESOTA LAKE VACATION. Fishing, swimming, sailing (Alcott Sunfish), tennis, more. Interesting people. Housekeeping cottages, under \$20 per person/week. Woodlawn Resort, Battle Lake, Minn. 56515.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE - \$1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-20J AQ, Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

COOL AND CAREFREE by the clear blue lake. Private cottages with fireplace or lakeside chalet rooms. Tennis, sailing, Sauna, water skiing, canoe trips, and lobster bakes. Children and pets, yes. A.A.A. Write: Chute Homestead, Box R-1, Naples, Maine 04055.

CANOE TRIPS OUTFITTED. Everything furnished, \$7.50 daily. Beautiful wilderness country. Free information: Border Lakes (NR), Box 569, Ely, Minnesota 55731.

PROPERTY - Sale/Rent

RENT: Furnished cottage by week or month near Pico-Killington Mts. Write: Tall Timber, Box 461, Rutland, Vt. 05701.

NEW WORLD COFFEE HOUSE for sale. Established four years. Showing profit. Owner wants change of scene. Contact Bennett Community Builders, 280 11th Ave. East, Eugene, Oregon 97401.

INTOWN, INTEGRATED, INTERESTING - the Neighbors, Inc. community in northwest Washington, D. C., adjacent to Rock Creek Park. All types of houses for sale and rent. Write: Housing Information Service, 524 Fern Place, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20012.

COMING TO CHICAGO? LIMITED INCOME? CONSIDER AUSTIN - fine heterogeneous community led by tough community organization. 20 minutes to loop; recreational and shopping convenience; good schools; Chicago's lowest priced large homes and apartment rentals. Low down payment, low interest mortgages. Write: Organization for a Better Austin, 462 N. Parkside, Chicago, Illinois 60644.

WHITE, BLACK, PURPLE, GREEN . . . In Cincinnati's beautiful, integrated neighborhood of Kennedy Heights, it's character that counts, not color. In this Northeast Cincinnati suburb, we enjoy two wooded parks, excellent schools, city services, good transportation, friendly neighbors. For housing information write Kennedy Heights Community Council, 3738 Davenant Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45213.

ST. LOUIS: 12-room brick townhouse; strong, integrated neighborhood; \$14,500 or lease; de-tails, Morley, 4600 Westminster, 63108.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

WOULD YOU BELIEVE? EXCITING ORIGINAL woodcuts, etchings, lithos, \$4.50 each. Subscription information: Graphic Circle, (NR) 68 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

CABUYA BAGS - Woven natural-fibre handbags - leather trimmed - for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Ecuador.

DALI, JACQUES VILLON, MIRO, CHAGALL: Illustrated brochure: Lithographs, etchings, 50c. Atlas Arts, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017.

I CAN'T TAKE THEM WITH ME: Sculptor, noted since 1929, retiring abroad; disposing of works at quixotic prices. Photos, resume on request. Enid Bell, 701 Columbia Ave., N. Bergen, N. J.

COLLECT ORIGINAL, SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau, Margulies, Raphael and Soyer, from \$10. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6A, 605 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10017.

MUSIC

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 25c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....23c
Per word 12 times in one contract year.....22c
Per word 24 times in one contract year.....20c
Per word 48 times in one contract year.....18c
Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for
Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed By The McCall Printing Co.
Mid-Atlantic Division



Commentary may be over your head.

Commentary is not a mass magazine. In ten years our circulation has quadrupled. Yet today, we could still squeeze all our subscribers into Yankee Stadium. But what an extraordinary gathering it would be, including the most informed, articulate, influential and accomplished people in the English-speaking world.

They would be a varied group, ranging politically from Dwight Macdonald (who says that "*Commentary* is, for 'keeping up,' much the best of the monthlies and quarterlies, in fact the best for any purposes"), to Clare Booth Luce (who calls *Commentary* the only literate magazine published in America).

An impressive delegation from Washington would be there too—ranging from occupants of the White House to some of their most severe critics on Capitol Hill.

Commentary, as the name implies, is a magazine of opinion concerned with everything of interest to people of intelligence, taste, and curiosity. Its aim is to clarify issues, analyze problems, encourage original thinking, and spark honest debate.

Obviously, to earn the high regard of so many highly regarded people it must also aim for excel-

lence. It had better be challenging, literate, and unafraid of controversy. *Commentary* is. It must avoid platitudes, pat answers, and easy solutions. *Commentary* does. Its contributors must be among the most lucid and pertinent experts anywhere. They are.

In any issue you might find Michael Harrington, Daniel P. Moynihan, or Bayard Rustin exploring serious problems of the moment.

Or contemporary historians Theodore Draper, George Lichtheim, and Robert L. Heilbroner going below the surface of urgent questions and setting them in an illuminating long-range perspective.

Or such penetrating literary critics as Edmund Wilson, Lionel Trilling, and Leslie A. Fiedler. Jack Richardson, one of America's foremost younger playwrights, reviews the theater for us. America's most important fiction writers appear in our pages: Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, and James Baldwin among them.

Commentary is probably the only magazine in the world that has sparked the formation of discussion groups. Over one hundred of them meet each month to discuss and argue the contents of our magazine.

Commentary was initiated two decades ago by the American

Jewish Committee to make a significant contribution to serious publishing in America. It is still published by the Committee. But, now as then, it does not serve any parochial interest. *Commentary* was ecumenical long before Vatican II, and remains, as *The New York Times* describes it, "an exciting and important forum for coherent ideas about the whole American culture. . . ."

It should be apparent to you that *Commentary* is not a magazine for everyone. It requires intelligence, and the willingness to use all you have. But because *Commentary* is unique, we are making an unusual introductory offer.

A year's subscription, 12 monthly issues, costs \$9. (\$12 at the newsstands). A 7-month subscription costs \$5.50. However, if you think you would like to join the select circle of *Commentary* readers, we'll send you your first copy free.

If the first issue is everything we say it is and you want to continue getting it, do nothing. We'll start your subscription with the second issue you receive. If you decide *Commentary* is too much for you after reading the first issue, tell us. We'll refund your money in full.

You have nothing to lose and a great magazine to gain.



But it won't cost a thing to find out.

Commentary Magazine

NR/2

P.O. Box 2474, New York, N.Y. 10008

(General offices: 165 E. 56th St., N.Y.C.)

Gentlemen:

I accept your challenge and your offer. Send me the current issue of *Commentary* free, and enter my subscription. If at any time I decide that *Commentary* is over my head, I'll let you know. You'll refund the balance plus a quarter to reimburse me for my postage, time, and trouble.

☐ 7 months \$5.50 ☐ 3 years \$24.00 ☐ Check attached
☐ 12 months \$9.00 ☐ 5 years \$35.00 ☐ Please bill me
(Outside U.S.A. add \$1.50 per year)

Name

Address

City State Zip